

THE
EXPEDITION
OF
CYRUS,

TRANSLATED FROM
XENOPHON,

WITH *R*
CRITICAL and HISTORICAL NOTES,

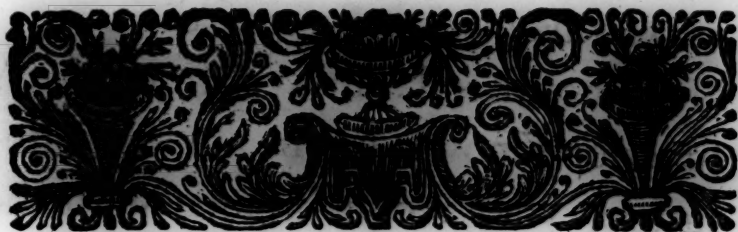
BY
EDWARD SPELMAN Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORD *LOVELL*.

MY LORD!

IF I wanted a Reason for dedicating this Translation of *Xenophon* to your Lordship, I could easily find one in the many

A 2

Years

DEDICATION.

Years of Acquaintance, I may say, of Intimacy, I have pass'd in your Neighbourhood: But your Lordship's superior Knowledge in ancient Literature, your Acquaintance with the most celebrated Authors, your Sagacity in discovering, and Judgment in admiring their Beauties, are not so properly Reasons to persuade, as Claims to challenge a Dedication of one of the politest Authors of Antiquity. On the other Side, how will your Lordship, who reads the Original, not only without Difficulty, but with Admiration, bear to see the Elegance of an *Attick* Author debas'd by the Rudeness of a *Gothick* Language, and, what is worse, by the Incapacity of the Translator? The first of these it is not in my Power to reform, and, if the last is in any Degree

DEDICATION.

Degree improv'd, it is owing to my Conversation with your Lordship.

I remember, when we were Fox-hunters, and a long Day's Sport had rather tir'd, than satisfied us, we often pass'd the Evening in reading the ancient Authors ; when the Beauty of their Language, the Strength, and Justness of their Thoughts for ever glowing with a noble Spirit of Liberty, made us forget not only the Pains, but the Pleasures of the Day.

WONDER not, my Lord ! that I am willing to recall those Seasons of Delight, since they afforded me a double Pleasure, one arising from the Authors themselves, and the other

D E D I C A T I O N.

from your Lordship's Observations on them. I have too great a Regard for the Reputation of those Authors, not to make it known, that, next to Nature, they have made your Lordship one of the best Judges in the World in Painting, and Architecture; it is owing to your exquisite Taste in both, that *Holkham* is an *Athenian* Country-House in every Thing, but the Danger of being eminent; but your Lordship is yourself an Instance, that, in *England*, though as free as *Athens*, Eminence may be universally acknowledged, without being expos'd.

It must, however, be own'd that these Monuments of your Taste, which your Lordship will leave for the Instruction, and Admiration of Posterity,

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city, might seem to intimate, in the Mind that rais'd them, a Want of that Perfection, they themselves so justly boast of, if you did not, at the same Time, leave the Person, who, according to the Course of Nature, will succeed you, qualified to relish the Possession of them: This you have effectually provided for, by taking Care that, as Nature has made Mr. *Coke* Heir to your Understanding, and the Law to your Fortune, his Education should make him so to your Accomplishments.

THAT your Lordship may long enjoy the Knowledge you have treasur'd up, and your Son have long the Improvement of your Example, as he has already had That of your Instruction, and that I may long be

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a Witness of both, are the sincere
Wishes of,

MY LORD!

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

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EDWARD SPELMAN.



THE
P R E F A C E.

THERE is not, possibly, a more difficult, a more discouraging, or a more useful Task than That of a Translator ; when I say this, I mean one who writes a Translation, not a Paraphrase, under which Name most modern Performances of this Kind ought to be comprehended. It was very judiciously observ'd by Mr. Pope, in the Preface to his incomparable Translation of the Iliad, that there have not been more Men misled in former Times by a servile dull Adherence to the Letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent Hope of raising and improving their Author. If these Liberties are not to be allowed in translating Poets, much less ought they to be indulged in translating Historians.

Historians. These Paraphrasts, it seems, are Men of too exalted a Genius to stoop to a literal Translation; they must improve their Author, by adding something, which he ignorantly omitted, or by omitting something, which he vainly thought material; by this Means, the Readers, who cannot compare the Translation with the Original (for whose Use chiefly Translations are intended) have either some wretched modern Interpolation impos'd on them for the Thoughts of an Ancient, or lose some of the Author's Thoughts, which the Title of a Translation gave them a Right to. But these Gentlemen have another Reason for paraphrasing, instead of translating, if they will own it; they find less Difficulty in cloathing modern Thoughts in a modern Dress, than in making Those of an Ancient appear gracefully in a Language so very different from That, in which they were conceiv'd: For it is a Work of greater Difficulty, than those, who have not experienc'd it, can possibly imagine, to give an Appearance of Novelty to Antiquity, to give Light to those Things, which the Ignorance of ancient Customs, and Manners has render'd obscure, to
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give *Beauty* to those that are obsolete, to give *Credibility* to those that are doubtful, and, above all, to give to a Copy the *Air of an Original*: Yet all these, however difficult, belong to the Province of a Translator; these are *Embellishments*, which he is to acquire, if he can; but his first Duty is *Fidelity* to his Author: without that, his Performance is not what it professes to be, and, in that Case, these *Embellishments*, like royal Robes upon the Back of an Impostor, are rather a Mockery than an Ornament. If to the most exact *Fidelity* a Translator joins *Beauty of Language*, *Strength of Expression*, and, above all, *Perspicuity*; and if, with these, he has *Genius* enough to animate his Translation with the *Spirit of his Original*, he then performs every Duty belonging to his Profession. I am far from thinking that my Translation of *Xenophon* has all these Perfections; on the contrary, I am sensible that it is in this, as in most other Things, much easier to point out a Duty, than to fulfil it. But I should be very much wanting in that Respect which every Author owes to the Publick, if I did not assure them that no Endeavours, no Application,

plication, no Labour has been spar'd to render this Translation fit to be laid before them. If the Difficulties a Translator meets with are considerable, the Discouragements he labours under are no less so. The great Number of anonymous Translations, the great Number of Translations of Translations, for which we in England are famous; but, above all, some very unfortunate Versions of Lives from the Greek into our Language, to which the Names of Authors justly admir'd for every other Kind of Writing are prefixed, shew the small Account the World has Reason to make of Translations, as well as the Difficulty of succeeding in them. These Considerations, I say, are powerful Discouragements to the undertaking any Thing of this Kind; but, if these are not sufficient to deter, let it be consider'd how unjust a Way of thinking prevails with most Readers; if there is any Merit in the Performance, it is plac'd to the Account of the Author, and if any Fault, to That of the Translator. Yet it should seem that Translations might deserve more Indulgence, when it is consider'd how many Persons of great Parts, who happen to be unacquainted

unacquainted with the learned Languages, particularly with Greek, would, without that Assistance, be depriv'd of the Satisfaction, and Improvement of reading ancient Histories written by ancient Authors; for, I dare say, those, who are conversant with both, will allow that those Histories are generally so much disfigur'd, and distorted by modern Relators, as scarce to be known: An Instance of this we see in our Countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who has, in my Opinion, treated ancient History with more Strength, and Dignity than any modern Writer of any other Nation, and yet, let his Account of the Battle of Cannæ, though a military Subject, and, therefore, particularly within his Province, let his Account, I say, of that Battle be compar'd with the Relation given of it by Polybius, from whom he took it, and what I have advanc'd will plainly appear. When I say this, I do not mean to insinuate that Sir Walter Raleigh was inferior, either as a Soldier, or a Scholar, to Polybius; for I am thoroughly convinc'd of his great Abilities, his Fate alone is a Proof of them: The only Disadvantage he lay under, was in being less acquainted with the Manners,

ners, Customs, and Discipline of the two contending Nations at Cannæ; so that I am confident, whoever reads the two Relations of that Battle, will agree with me that a close Translation of the Account given of it by Polybius would have been much more satisfactory, and instructive to those who cannot read the Original.

*THE Reader will observe that I have, in the Course of my Notes, principally taken notice of three Translations, That of Leunclavius, of Hutchinson, and of d'Ablancourt; there is, besides, an Italian Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by Gandini, which I have occasionally consulted; but, as in Cases of Difficulty I found no Assistance from thence, and, as I thought a Criticism upon a Translation in a third Language would incumber the Notes, I have chosen to take no Notice of it. I am also sensible there is a Latin Translation of this History by Stephens, which I have mention'd as occasion requir'd. But I cannot part with this Subject without taking particular Notice of Mr. Hutchinson's Edition of the Expedition of Cyrus, which I look upon to be
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the best edited Book in the World, except the Cyropædia publish'd by the same Author: If I have sometimes differ'd from him, I hope it will be thought I have supported my Opinion in such a Manner that he will have no just Reason to find Fault with me. I have observ'd the same Conduct with Regard to d'Ablancourt, the Looseness of whose Translation I have been frequently oblig'd to condemn; on the other Side, it will be allowed that I have often commended him; though I cannot carry my Commendations of him so far as his Countryman Menage, who says that d'Ablancourt has surpass'd even Xenophon himself in the Elegance of his Style. Another celebrated French Critick, Balzac, says, that d'Ablancourt's Translation of Xenophon would be incomparable, if he had plac'd nothing before it, but that his Preface is so fine, that it obscures the finest Things that can be compar'd to it; he adds that, if it were possible for d'Ablancourt to have liv'd in the Time of Cyrus the Younger, and for Xenophon to be now alive, the Prefaces of d'Ablancourt would deserve to be translated by Xenophon. The Reader will observe that this forc'd Style was in Fashion

among

Menage upon Laertius, p. 103.
Balzac, Letters to Conrart, 1 B.

among the French in Balzac's Time, that is, in the Infancy of their Taste; the Writers of that Age seem to have impos'd an Obligation upon themselves of being for ever witty; they were often so, but that was not enough; this eternal Straining after Wit oblig'd them many Times to have Recourse to forc'd Turns of Thought, and, sometimes, to what their Language calls Phœbus, that is, shining Expressions that seem to signify something. After the Reader has compared the many Passages I have taken the Liberty to censure in d'Ablancourt with the Original, he will be able to judge how far he has surpass'd Xenophon in the Elegance of his Style, and how far, according to the Supposition of Balzac, his Works might deserve to be translated by Xenophon. But there is an old English Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by John Bingham, printed in 1623, and dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Artillery Company. The first Notice I had of this Translation was by a Note of Hutchinson about the Middle of the last Book; he also mentions it towards the End of the same Book, where Xenophon says Gongylus march'd out to the Assistance of the Greeks

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Greeks βίη τῆς Μητρὸς, upon which Occasion, Hutchinson says vis phraseos omnino latuit versionis Anglicanæ Authorem; and, indeed, he had great Reason to say so, for, upon looking into Bingham's Translation, I find he has render'd that Passage, by Compulsion of his Mother, whereas he should have said against his Mother's Will, in which Sense all the other Translators have render'd it. I do not remember that Hutchinson has taken any Notice of this Translation but upon these two Occasions. Finding therefore, by Hutchinson's Note before mention'd, when I had not more than half the last Book remaining to compleat my Translation, that there was an old English Version of the Expedition, I employed several of the most eminent Booksellers in Town to get it for me, but all in vain; for none of them could find it, neither would they be persuaded there was any such Book extant, 'till I referred them to that Note of Hutchinson: However, at last I got a Sight of it from a publick Library. Upon comparing it with the Original, I found the Author was a Man of some Learning, from whence I conclude that he must have

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made

made Use of some very faulty Edition, otherwise, it is not possible that a Man of Learning, (for such he really seems to have been) should ever have been guilty of so many Mistakes, as are to be met with through the whole Course of his Translation: As to his Style, it seems to be, at least, a Century older than That in which he writ. There is, in the fourth Book, a Conversation between Xenophon, and Cheirisophus, in which they rally one another upon the Art of Stealing, so much practis'd by their respective Countries; the Foundation of which Rallery is the Advice given by Xenophon to steal a March to some Part of a Mountain they were to pass. As the Spirit of Rallery is, of all others, the most likely to be lost in a Translation, for that Reason, Rallery itself is the last Thing one would chuse to translate, if it did not necessarily come in one's Way; upon this Occasion, therefore, I was in Hopes of receiving some Assistance from the old English Translation, which I should both have made Use of, and acknowledged very readily; but, upon Examination, I found this Passage translated in the following

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lowing Manner, it seemeth to me not impossible to steal some Part or other of the Hill. After this, I dare say, it will easily be concluded that I could entertain no great Hopes of any Assistance from that Quarter. Many ancient Authors, both Greek, and Latin, and, particularly, those, who were themselves fine Writers, as well as judicious Criticks, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Tully, have celebrated the Beauty of our Author's Style, his Perspicuity, and that peculiar Sweetness in his Composition, which made his Writings be called the Language of the Muses: The latter goes so far as to say that Lucullus, being sent to make War upon Mithridates, which was no easy Province, and being unacquainted with the Duty of a General, acquir'd, by reading the Expedition of Cyrus, so great a Knowledge in the Art of War, as to owe his Victories against that Prince to the Information he receiv'd from it. However this may be, we find, by the Commentaries of Cæsar, that he often made Use of the same Dispositions against the Gauls, which Xenophon had employed, with so great Success, against the

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Persians :

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Persians: *But, what is much more for the Credit of our Author, it is obvious that the Expedition of Cyrus was the Model of those Commentaries; the same Elegance, the same Clearness of Expression, the same unaffected Grace, are the distinguishing Characters of both; and, possibly, the Greek, and Latin Languages, have nothing in their Kind more perfect than these two admirable Performances. I am sensible that all Commendations bestowed upon the Original, tend to expose the Translation to Censure, which I ought not, in Prudence, wantonly to solicit; but I was willing, if I could not do Justice to Xenophon by translating him, to endeavour to do it, at least, by commending him: This may be thought a small Amends for the former: However, the Determination of this Question must be left to the Voice of the People, who are still Sovereigns in This, and who, as they were formerly remarkable for their Justice in deciding the Fate of Mankind, are still not less so in determining That of their Productions; so that,*

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*to use the Words of my Ancestor, * in the Preface to his Glossary, I submit my Labours, and Errors to the Publick.*

* Sir Henry Spelman, who was great great Grandfather to the Author.



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A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was an *Athenian*; his Father's Name *Gryllus*. All that we know of him 'till he attended *Cyrus* in his Expedition, is, that he was a Disciple of *Socrates*. If, to have been a Disciple of that great Man was an Instance of his good Fortune, the Improvement he made of that Education is an Instance of his Merit; and, indeed, nothing less than the happiest Disposition, the best Education, and the greatest Improvement of both, could render *Xenophon* that universal Man we find him in his Writing: his *Cyropædia* shews him

An Account of XENOPHON. xxiii

him to have possess'd, in a sovereign Degree, the Art of Government; his *Expedition of Cyrus* shews him a compleat General; his History, an entertaining, an instructive, and a faithful Historian; his Panegyrick of *Agésilas*, an Orator; and his Treatise of Hunting, a Sportsman; his Apology for *Socrates*, and the Account he gives of his Manner of conversing, shew that he was both a Friend, and a Philosopher; and all of them, that he was a good Man. This appears remarkably in his preserving *Byzantium* from being plunder'd by his Soldiers, who, having gain'd no other Reward of the dangerous Expedition they had been engag'd in, but their Preservation, were not only strongly tempted to plunder that Town by the Hope of making their Fortunes, but justly provok'd to it by the disingenuous Behaviour of the *Lacedæmonian* Governour; yet these two lawless Passions, Avarice, and Revenge, the Authority, and Eloquence of *Xenophon* quite subdued.

As *Cyrus* had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* in their War against the *Athenians*, the latter look'd upon *Xenophon's* Attachment

ment to that Prince as criminal, and banish'd him for engaging in his Service. After this, *Xenophon* attended *Agésilas*, when he was sent for by the *Lacedæmonians* with his Army from *Asia*; where, the Success of his Arms gave something more than Uneasiness to *Artaxerxes*, who, not without Cause, began to fear the same Fate from *Agésilas*, which his Successor, *Darius*, afterwards found from *Alexander*; but the former, by corrupting the *Greek* Cities, and, by that Means, engaging them to make War upon the *Lacedæmonians*, suspended the Fate of *Persia* for a Time: But, in all Evils, Relief, obtain'd by Corruption, is only a Respite, not a Cure; for, when *Alexander* invaded *Persia*, the same low Arts were again practis'd by *Darius* to recall him from *Asia*, by a Diversion in *Greece*; but, these proving ineffectual, the *Persians*, by trusting more to the Vices of their Enemies, than to their own Virtue, became an easy Conquest. *Agésilas*, soon after he return'd, fought the Battle of *Coronea*, where, though wounded, he defeated the *Thebans*, and their Allies; at this Battle *Xenophon* was present. After that, he retir'd to *Scilus*, where he pass'd

Xenoph.

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pass'd his Time in reading, the Conver-
 sation of his Friends, Sporting, and writing
 History. But, this Place, being over-run by
 the *Eleans*, in whose Neighbourhood it was,
Xenophon went to *Corinth*, where he liv'd 'till
 the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, when he
 died in the ninety-first Year of his Age: So
 that, he must have been about fifty Years of
 Age at the Time of the Expedition of *Cyrus*,
 which was the fourth Year of the ninety-
 fourth Olympiad, just forty Years before. I
 am sensible some learned Men are of Op-
 inion that he was not so old at the Time
 of the Expedition, though I see no Reason
 to disbelieve *Lucian* in this Particular, who
 says that *Xenophon* was above ninety Years ^{περὶ}
 of Age when he died. However, this is be- ^{μακρὰ}
 yond all Dispute, that he liv'd 'till after the
 Battle of *Mantineia*, which, according to
Diodorus Siculus, was in the second Year ^{Diod. Sic.}
 of the 104th Olympiad, because he closes ^{15 B.}
 his History of the Affairs of *Greece* with the
 Account of that Battle: In which Account
 it is very extraordinary that he should say no-
 thing more of the most remarkable Incident
 in it, I mean the Death of *Epaminondas*,
 than *that he fell* in the Action; but this
 may

xxvi *An Account of* XENOPHON.

may be accounted for by that Modesty, which was the distinguishing Character of our Author, because it is well known that *Epaminondas* fell by the Hand of *Gryllus*, the Son of *Xenophon*, who was sent by his Father to the Assistance of the *Athenians*. It will easily be imagin'd that a General, at the Head of a victorious Army, then pursuing his Victory, could not be attacked, much less slain, without manifest Danger to the daring Enemy, who should attempt it. This *Gryllus* found, for he had no sooner lanc'd the fatal Dart, which depriv'd *Thebes* of the greatest General of that Age, but he was cut to Pieces by the Friends of *Epaminondas*. When the News of his Death was brought to *Xenophon*, he said no more than that *he knew he was mortal*.



T H E



THE
INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING seems to contribute more to the forming a clear Idea of any Transaction in History than a previous Knowledge both of the Persons, and Things that gave Birth to it ; for, when the Reader is once acquainted with the Characters, and Views of the principal Actors, and with what has been done in Consequence of both, the Scene unfolds in so natural a Manner, that the most extraordinary Events in History are look'd upon in the same Light as the most surprizing Phenomena in Philosophy ; that is, like these, they are found to be the necessary Result of such Principles, as the all-wise Creator has thought fit to establish ; and, like these, are as little to be wonder'd at, and as easy to

to be accounted for. In Order, therefore, to enable the Reader to view the Consequences in their Principles, and contemplate the Embryo Plant in its Seed, I shall lay before him a short Account of the most remarkable Transactions, that seem to have had an immediate Influence upon That, which *Xenophon* has chosen for the Subject of his History. The Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had been, for some Time before the Expedition of *Cyrus*, so much interwoven with those of *Persia*, that all three seem to have had a Share in every remarkable Event, that happen'd to each of them: Thus, the Supplies of Money with which *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, was furnish'd by *Cyrus*, enabled him to carry on the War against the *Athenians* with Advantage, and, at last, to give them a decisive Blow at *Ægos Potamos*, which ended in the taking of *Athens*; and, on the other Side, the Assistance which *Cyrus* receiv'd from the *Lacedæmonians*, both by Sea, and Land, in return, encourag'd him to an Attempt of no less Moment than the dethroning his Brother *Artaxerxes*. The several Steps which led to this Enterprize
equally

equally great, unfortunate, and unwarrantable, shall be taken Notice of in the Order of Time in which they happen'd; in this short Survey, I shall avoid entering into any Chronological Discussions, which often puzzle, seldom inform, and never entertain, but confine myself almost entirely to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, besides the Character he has deservedly obtain'd for Fidelity, and Exactness, had the Advantage of living many Centuries nearer the Transactions he recounts, than those who differ from him in Chronology, as well as That of consulting many Authors, whose Works are unfortunately lost to modern Ages: Neither shall I go farther back than the taking of *Athens* by the *Lacedaemonians*, which hap-
Diod. Sic.
13 B. ~
 pen'd in the fourth Year of the ninety-third Olympiad, and put an End to the *Peloponnesian* War, after it had lasted twenty-seven Years. The same Year died *Darius Ochus*, Ib. King of *Persia*, after a Reign of nineteen Years, and left his Kingdom to his eldest Son *Artaxerxes*, who was born before he was King: *Parysatis*, his Queen, the most artful of all Women, and Mother both to *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus*, tried the Power of
 every

Herodotus
in Poly-
hymnia.

every Practice to engage *Darius* to imitate his Predecessor, *Darius Hystaspes*, who preferr'd his Son *Xerxes*, born after his Accession, to *Artobazanes*, who was born before it; but all her Efforts prov'd ineffectual, and *Artaxerxes* succeeded his Father without Opposition. If the Arts of *Parysatis* could not prevail with *Darius* to set his eldest Son aside, her Fondness for *Cyrus* not only encourag'd him to form a Design against his Brother's Life, but rescued him, if not, from Disgrace, at least, from Punishment, when it was discover'd. The next Year, which was the first of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, there happen'd an Eclipse of the Sun, which is only taken Notice of, as it is no small Satisfaction to find History, upon this Occasion, supported by Astronomy, by which it appears that the Eclipse of the Sun, mention'd by *Xenophon*, in his *Greek History*, to have happen'd this Year, fell out on the third Day of *September*, upon a *Friday*, at twelve Minutes after Nine a-clock. The same Year, *Cyrus* return'd to his Government in *Asia Minor*, with a Mind more exasperated at his Disgrace, than terrified with his Danger, and immediately resolv'd to

Xenophon, 2B.
Uffer. p.
128.
Petav. de
doctr.
Temp. 13
B.

to repair the Disappointment of private Treason by open Hostility ; to this Purpose, he addresses himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, who chearfully espouse his Quarrel. This Intercourse between *Cyrus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, could not be carried on so privately, as to escape the Notice of *Alcibiades*, who, being banish'd from his Country, was now retir'd to *Grynium*, a strong Place in *Phrygia*, appointed by *Pharnabazus* for his Residence, to whom he immediately communicates his Intelligence, desiring him, at the same Time, to appoint proper Persons to conduct him to Court, that he might give *Artaxerxes* an Account of the whole : But *Pharnabazus*, being willing to have the Merit of a Discovery of so great Importance, sent Persons of Trust to *Artaxerxes* to lay the Information before him. *Alcibiades*, suspecting his Design, left *Pharnabazus*, with an Intention to apply himself to the Satrapæ of *Paphlagonia*, to the End that, through him, he might be recommended to *Artaxerxes* ; but *Pharnabazus*, fearing the King should, by this Means, be inform'd of the Truth, prevented

Ephorus,
17 B. in
Diod. Sic.

vented his Design, by ordering him to be put to Death.

Diod. Sic.
14 B.

THE next Year, that is, the second of the ninety-fourth Olympiad brings *Clearchus* upon the Stage; he makes so considerable a Figure in the ensuing History both by his Conduct, and his Fate, that the Incident we are going to speak of, which happen'd just before he engag'd himself in the Service of *Cyrus*, and which seems to have driven him into it, must not be omitted: It seems, the Inhabitants of *Byzantium* being engag'd in Factions, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Clearchus* to compose their Differences, who uniting them in nothing but their Complaints against himself, the Ephori recall'd him: But he, refusing to obey their Orders, they sent *Panthædas* with some Troops, to force him to a Submission. With these he defeated *Clearchus*, and oblig'd him to fly to *Ionia*; here he was receiv'd with open Arms by *Cyrus*, to whom his Experience in military Affairs, his enterprizing Genius, and, possibly, even his Rebellion, were, at this Juncture, no small Recommendations; since he could

not

not but look upon a Man, who had dared to fly in the Face of his Country, as a proper Person to bear Command in an Army, which he was raising to invade his own. It was upon this Occasion that *Cyrus* gave him the ten thousand Daricks mention'd by *Xenophon*, with which he levied a considerable Number of Forces, and engag'd them in his Service.

THE next Year *Diodorus Siculus* passes over without taking Notice of any Thing relating to this Expedition, so we may conclude that *Cyrus* employed it in continuing his Preparations under various Pretences, particularly, since we find him in the Field early the Year after. *Sardes*, the Capital of *Lydia*, and, formerly, the Residence of its Kings, was the Place of general Rendezvous; from hence *Cyrus* march'd at the Head of about twelve thousand eight hundred *Greeks*, and one hundred thousand *Barbarians*, to dispute the Crown of *Persia* with his Brother *Artaxerxes*; and, from hence, *Xenophon*, who came to him to *Sardes*, begins his History of this Expedition.

Xenophon, Exp. of Cyrus, i. B.

THE Year, which decided this great Contest, was the 783d Year from the taking of *Troy*, the 351st of *Rome*, *Publius Cornelius*, *Cæsar Fabius*, *Spurius Nautius*, *Caius Valerius*, *Marcus Sergius*, and *Junius Lucullus* being military Tribunes; and the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, *Exænetus* being Archon at *Athens*: This Expedition has, I find, been thought of Consequence enough to be taken Notice of in the *Arundel* Marble, the eightieth Æra of which has these Words, * *From the Time those, who ascended with Cyrus, return'd, and Socrates, the Philosopher, died, being seventy Years of Age, one hundred and thirty-seven Years, Laches being Archon at Athens.*

THE Year the *Greeks* return'd was the Year after they march'd from *Sardes*, since *Xenophon* says they were fifteen Months in their

* The Words of the *Arundel* Marble are these:

ΑΦ' ἧ ἐπαιήλθον οἱ μετὰ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ
ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ἑΤΕΛΕΤΤΗΣ ΒΙΟΆ
ΕΤΗΓΔΔΔΕΤΗ ΗΔΔΔΠΗ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΣ
ΔΑΧΗΤΟΣ.

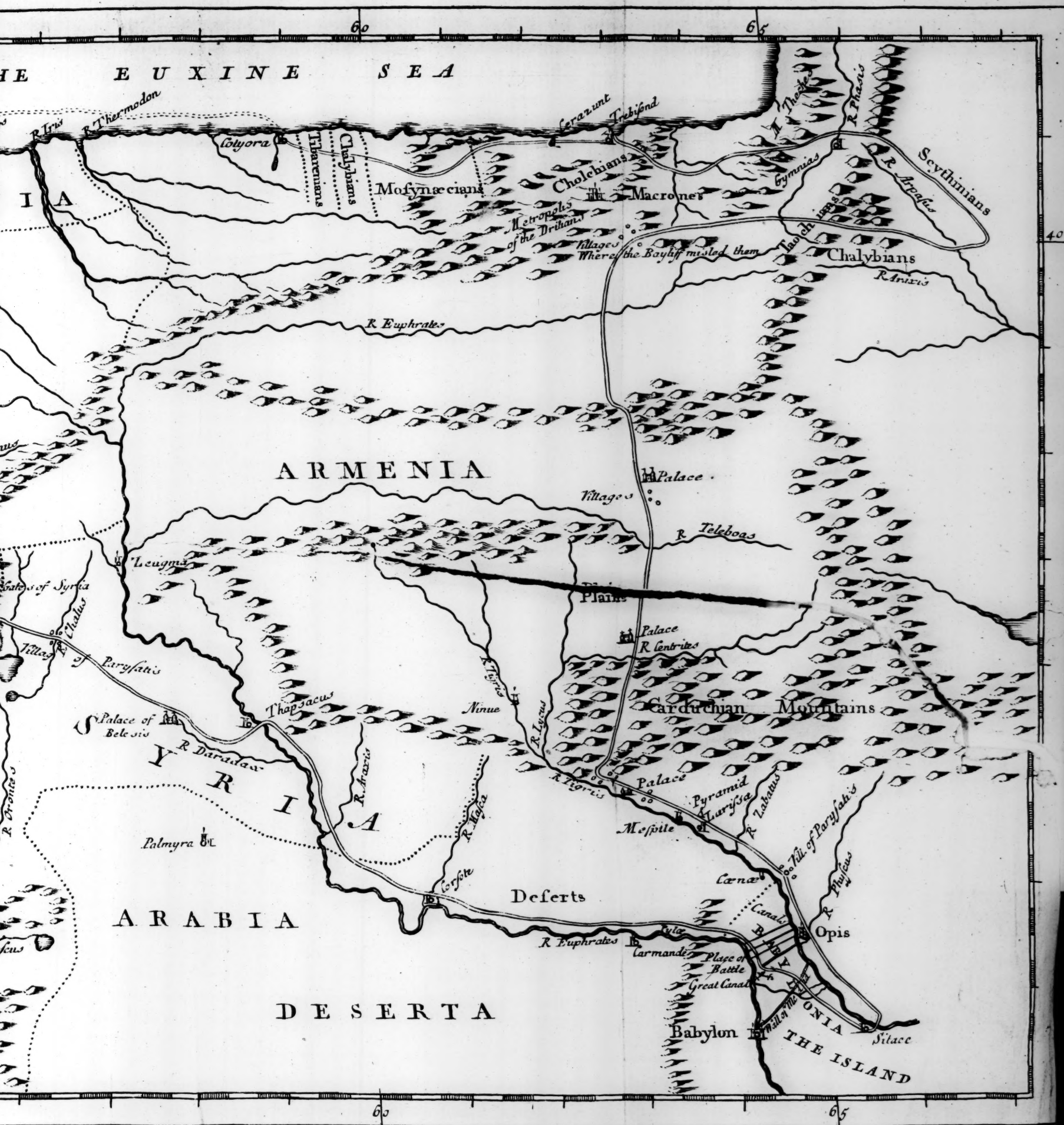
their Expedition, and, consequently, that Year was the first of the ninety-fifth Olympiad ; the Authority of the *Arundel* Marble is supported by *Diodorus Siculus*, who Diod. Sic. 14 B. says that *Laches* was Archon that Year at *Athens*, and that *Socrates* was put to Death the same Year.



THE

4 DE 65







THE
EXPEDITION²
OF
C Y R U S.

Translated from XENOPHON.

B O O K I.

DARIUS³ and *Parysatis* had two Sons, of whom *Artaxerxes* was the Elder, and *Cyrus* the Younger. When *Darius* lay sick, and thought himself near his End, he desired
both

¹ *D'Ablincourt* has thought fit to change the Title given by *Xenophon* to his History, and, instead of *The Expedition of Cyrus*, to call it, *La Retraite des dix mille*; the reason he gives for it is this, he says Things ought to derive their Name from that which is most remarkable in them, and that the Expedition is nothing in

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comparison

The EXPEDITION

both his Sons might attend him. The Eldest happen'd to be present: *Cyrus* he sent for from his Government with which he ⁴ had invested him,

comparison to the Retreat. I own this Reason does not persuade me; whatever weight it ought to have had with the Author, I think it should have none with a Translator.

² *Ἀναβάσεις*. Every one who is conversant with the Greek Authors, knows, that, whenever they speak not only of military Expeditions, but even of Journeys undertaken by private Persons from the Lesser Asia to Babylon or Susa, the Residence of the Persian Kings, they use the word *ἀναβαίνειν*; the same word came afterwards to be applied to the City of Rome, tho' more rarely: *Arrian*, who, in his Expedition of *Alexander*, has followed our Author, not only in the Distribution of his Work into seven Books, but in his Style, as far as he was able, has also copied him in his Title, calling his History also, *ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου*. *Hutchinson* thinks that the Rivers of that Part of Asia in question falling into the *Ægean* and *Mediterranean* Seas, gave occasion to these Terms *ἀναβαίνειν*, and *καταβαίνειν*; but it is certain that almost all the great Rivers of that part of Asia run either to the North or South, as the *Halys*, the *Iris*, the *Thermodon*, the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*.

³ *Δαρεῖς καὶ Περσέτιδος*, &c. This first Period is much celebrated by *Demetrius Phalereus*, as full of Dignity and historical Simplicity.

19. ⁴ *Καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπέδειξε*. *D'Ablancourt* has visibly mistaken this Passage, he makes *Darius* constitute *Cyrus* General at his Arrival at Court, *à sa venue*; whereas it not only appears from this Passage, but from History also, that he was actually invested with that Employment when he was sent for: I wish the old Latin Translation, which says, *Prætorum designat*, did not lead him into this Error; *Hutchinson* has translated it properly, *Præfectum designaverat*. I said that this also appear'd from History: Our Author, in

him, as * Satrape, having also appointed him General of all the People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*. Hereupon *Cyrus* comes to Court, accompanied by *Tissaphernes* as his Friend, and attended by three hundred heavy-arm'd *Greeks*, under the Command of *Xenias* of *Parrhasie*.

AFTER

in his Account of the Affairs of *Greece*, mentions a Letter to have been written by *Darius* to the People of the Lesser *Asia*, six Years before this Expedition of *Cyrus*; in this Letter, *Darius* gives them notice of his having appointed *Cyrus* Commander in Chief of those People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*: The Words of the Letter are these; καταπέμψω Κῆρον Κέρωνος τῶν εἰς Κατωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ Κέρων ἐστὶ Κέρειον.

* Σατραπῆς, tho' used both by *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, is a *Persian* Word, and signifies a Commander, a General; Σατραπῆς, Ἀρχηγοί, στρατηλάται, Πρωτοὶ δὲ ἡ λέξις. *Hesychius*. *Herodotus* says, *Darius* *Hystaspes* appointed twenty of these Governments, ἀρχαί in *Thalia* κατεστήσατο ἑκαστῇ, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέσιν Σατραπήτας.

Ὁπλίτας. *D'Abblancourt* excuses himself for not distinguishing these heavy-arm'd Men in his Translation; but I do not only think it necessary to distinguish them from the light-arm'd, but to give some account of their Distinction. There are three different kinds of Foot-Soldiers chiefly mention'd by our Author in the Course of this History, the Ὀπλίται, the Ψιλοί, and the Πελτασταί; of whom, and of their respective Armour, *Arrian* gives the following Account in his *Tactics*: τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν, says he, ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἄσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρυτα, ὡς Ἑλλήνες, καὶ σκεπίστας, ὡς Μακεδόνες. The heavy-arm'd Men have Corsets, long Shields, and Swords, and Pikes, like the *Greeks*, and Spears, like the *Macedonians*. τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν ἐναντιώτατον ἔχει τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πᾶν, ὅτι περ

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AFTER the Death of *Darius*, and the
Accession of *Artaxerxes*, ' *Tissaphernes*
accuses

ἀνευ θώρακος, καὶ ἀσπίδος, καὶ κυνηκίδος, καὶ κράνους,
ἐκηθόλοις τοῖς ὅπλοις διαχρώμενον, τοξέυμασιν, ἢ ἀκου-
τίοις, ἢ σφενδόναις, ἢ λίθοις ἐκ χειρὸς. The light-
arm'd Men are arm'd in a quite different manner from
the heavy-arm'd, they have no Corslets, or Shields,
Greaves, or Helmets, but altogether make use of mis-
sive Weapons, such as Arrows, Darts, and Stones
thrown by Slings, and out of hand. τὸ δὲ πελτασι-
κὸν δὲ καφώτερον μὲν τυγχάνει οὐ τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ· ἢ γὰρ
πέλτη, σμικρότερον τῆς ἀσπίδος· δὲ ἐλαφρότερον, δὲ τὰ
ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων δὲ σαριστῶν λεπτόμενα, βαρύτερον δὲ
τῷ ψιλῷ. The Targeteers are arm'd in a lighter man-
ner than the heavy-arm'd Men, for their Bucklers are
smaller and lighter than the Shields of the latter, and
their Darts shorter than their Pikes and Spears; but
their Armour is heavier than that of the light-arm'd.
These three kinds of Foot-Soldiers are so often men-
tion'd by *Xenophon* to have been employ'd by the *Greek*
Generals, and particularly by himself upon different
occasions, according to the difference of their Armour
and Manner of fighting, that I thought it necessary at
first to give the Reader a clear Idea of that difference.

⁶ *Τισσαφέρνης*. This is the same *Tissaphernes*, over
whom *Alcibiades* gain'd so great an Ascendant, that
he govern'd him not only in his Politicks, but his
Pleasures. We shall find him in the Course of this
History at the Head of the *Persian* Army, that endea-
vour'd in vain to cut off the Retreat of the *Greeks*: But
the Treachery he was guilty of in relation to the *Greek*
Generals, after they had incautiously put themselves in
his Hands, must render his Name so odious, that it
may not be unacceptable to the Reader to be in-
form'd of his Fate after this History leaves him. *Age-*
filaus being sent by the *Lacedemonians* at the Head
of an Army into *Asia*, and having gain'd many Ad-
vantages over the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes* look'd upon *Tis-*
saphernes as the Cause of the ill Success of his Arms,
and

Plutarch
in Alcibia-
des.

Diodor.
Sic. 14 B.

accuses *Cyrus* to his Brother of Treason : *Artaxerxes* gives credit to the Accusation, and orders *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death : but his Mother having saved him by her Intercession, sends him back to his Government. *Cyrus*, as soon as he left the Court after this Danger and Disgrace, ⁷ deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his Brother, but, if possible, reign in his place. In this he was ⁸ supported by his Mother *Parysatis*, who had a greater love for *Cyrus*, than for the King *Artaxerxes* ; and when any Persons belonging to the Court resorted to him, he sent them back more

B 3

dispos'd and being incens'd against him by *Parysatis*, in revenge for his Behaviour to *Cyrus*, he appointed *Tithraustes* to succeed him in his Government with Orders to cut off his Head : This happen'd in the first Year of the 96th Olympiad, that is, about five Years after the Expedition of *Cyrus*.

⁷ Βουλευεται ως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. This is render'd by *D'Ablandcourt*, *il songea aux moyens de se venger de cet affront* ; which may be a Translation of any other Passage, as well as of this.

⁸ Παύσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κῦρῳ, &c. *Leunclavius* has translated this Passage, as if ὑπάρχω signified here εἰμι, in the same sense as *Plutarch* uses the Word, speaking of this very thing, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε μᾶλλον τὸν Κῦρον φιλεῖσα ; but every body knows that ὑπάρχω, with a Dative Case, signifies to favour ; *Hutchinson* has said very properly, *mater a Cyri partibus stetit*. *D'Ablandcourt* has thought fit to leave out this Period entirely.

dispos'd to favour him than the King: Besides, he took so great care of the *Barbarians* who were with him, as to render them both good Soldiers, and affectionate to his Service: He also levied an Army of *Greeks* with all possible Secrecy, that he might find the King in no degree prepar'd to resist him. And whenever he recruited the Garrisons that were dispers'd in the several Cities under his Command, he order'd each of their Officers to enlist as many *Peloponnesians* as possible, and of those the best Men they could get, under pretence that *Tissaphernes* had a design upon those Cities. For the Cities of *Ionia* formerly belong'd to *Tissaphernes*, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they had all revolted from him to *Cyrus*, except ² *Miletus*: The Inhabitants of which being engag'd in the same Design, and *Tissaphernes* having early notice of their In-

tentions,

² *Miletus*. A considerable City of *Ionia*, not far from the Mouth of the *Mæander*; at the time of the *Trojan War* it was inhabited, according to *Homer*, by the *Carians*, whom he mentions among the Allies of *Troy*.

11. β.

Νέμενος δὲ Κρότος ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων
ὅτι Μιλήτων ἔργον.

Herodot.
in *Enat.*

Arrian,
a *Book*.

This Town, having revolted from the *Persians*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, was retaken by them six Years after that Revolt. About sixty-seven Years after the Time our Author speaks of, *Alexander* took *Miletus*, after a brave Resistance from the Garrison, consisting of three hundred *Greeks* then in the Service of the King of *Persia*.

tentions, put some of them to death, and banished others; these *Cyrus* received, and raising an Army besieg'd *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore the banished Citizens: this he made another pretence for raising an Army; and sending to the King, he desired, that, as he was his Brother, he might have the Command of these Cities, rather than *Tissaphernes*: in this also he was assisted by his Mother; so that the King was not sensible of the Design that was form'd against him, but looking upon these Preparations as directed against *Tissaphernes*, was under no concern at their making war upon one another: For *Cyrus* sent the King all the Taxes, that were rais'd in those Cities, which had been under the Government of *Tissaphernes*.

HE had also another Army rais'd for him in the *Chersonesus*, over-against *Abydus*, in this manner. There was a banish'd *Lacedemonian*, his Name *Clearchus*; *Cyrus*, becoming acquainted with him, ¹⁰ admir'd the Man, and made him a Present of
ten

¹⁰ ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Ἀγαμαι, θαυμάζω. *Phavorinus*. In this sense I have translated it, tho' I must own I am pleas'd with what *d'Abiancourt* says, *Cyrus*

ten thousand ¹¹ Daricks; with this Money *Clearchus* rais'd an Army, and marching out

le gouta. As *Clearchus* makes a considerable Figure in this Expedition, our Author has given his Character at the end of the second Book; but there being some Particulars relating to him mention'd in *Diodorus Siculus*, which are not there taken notice of, I thought the Reader might not be displeas'd to be inform'd of them, for which reason I have mention'd them in the Introduction.

- Aristoph.** ¹¹ Δαρικῆς. The Darick was a *Persian* Gold Coin, *Saidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, say it was of equal value with the *Attick* χρῆστος, or with twenty silver Drachms, that is, the 5th part of a silver Mine, fixty of which made a Talent, which last amounted to 193—15—0 Sterling; so that ten thousand Daricks will make 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ Talents, or 6458—6—8 of our Money. On the reverse of this Coin was an Archer, which gave occasion to *Agesilaus* to say, that he was driven out of *Asia* by thirty thousand Archers, meaning so many Daricks distributed among the *Greek* Cities by the King of *Persia*. The Authors before mentioned inform us, that this Coin did not derive its Name from *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes*, but from another more ancient King; who that should be, is not so well understood, since *Darius Hystaspes*, the Father of *Xerxes*, and one of the seven *Persian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death, was the first *Persian* King of that Name. I am sensible *Prideaux* is of opinion, that *Cyaxares* the Brother of *Mandane*, and Uncle of the first *Cyrus*, is *Darius* the *Mede* mentioned by *Daniel*, from whom, he says, this Coin took its Name, and who caus'd it to be struck at *Babylon* during the two Years he reign'd there; but *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropædia*, mentions some of this Coin to have been found among other Riches, by *Cyrus*, in a Castle belonging to *Gabryas*, ever before the taking of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians*. Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks that *Darius* the *Mede*, when he and *Cyrus* took *Sardes*, melted down all the *Lydian* Money he found there, and
- Plutarch** in *Artaxerxes*.
- Herodot.** in *Thalia*.
- Daniel v.** 31.
- Xenophon** in *Κύρου* *ῥοιῶτα*. 5 B.

out of the *Chersonesus*, made war upon the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Helle-spont*, to the great Advantage of the *Greeks*; this induc'd the Cities upon the *Helle-spont* to subsist his Forces with great Chearfulness. Thus was this Army also secretly maintain'd for his Service. *Aristippus* of *Theffaly*, between whom and *Cyrus* there was an Intercourse of ¹² Hospitality, being

oppress'd

and recoin'd it with his own Effigies. But *Xenophon* speaks of *Daricks* upon the occasion already mention'd, even before the taking of *Sardes*, which preceded that of *Babylon*. It is not possible this could have escap'd a Man, to whom nothing either in History or Nature was unknown; it is much more probable that he look'd upon it as an Anticipation in *Xenophon*, which Opinion, I find, prevails with some learned Men. There is however a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Melpomene*, which *Herodot.* almost inclines one to think, that *Darius Hystaspes* in *Melpomene* was the Author of this Coin, notwithstanding what *Suidas*, *Harpocraton*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* say to the contrary; he says there, that *Darius Hystaspes* refin'd Gold to all the *Pureneis* that was possible, and coin'd it into Money, Δαρειῶν μὲν χρυσοῦ καθαρώτατον ἀπειψήσας εἰ τὸ δυνατώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο: Now it is certain that all Authors celebrate the *Daricks* for the Fineness of the Gold: And a few Lines before, the same Author says, *Darius* did this with a view of leaving behind him such a Monument as no other King had done, μνημόσυνον ἐωῦτ' ἂν λιπέσθαι τῷτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶν βασιλεῖ κατεργασμένον.

¹² *Ξένος*. *Ξένος* καλεῖται ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος, καὶ ὁ ὑποδεχθεὶς. *Phavorinus*. In the same manner *Hospes*, every one knows, has both an active and passive Signification. These Rights of Hospitality were of ancient Date, and of so sacred a Nature, that *Jupiter* himself

was

oppress'd by a contrary Faction at home, comes to him, demanding two thousand Mercenaries, and their Pay for three Months, in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his Adversaries: *Cyrus* grants him four thousand Men, and six Months Pay, desiring him to come to no Terms with his Adversaries without consulting him: In this manner the Army in *Thessaly* was also privately maintain'd for his Use. At the same time he order'd *Proxenus* the *Bæotian*, a Friend

of

was thought to preside over them, and to punish the Violations committed against them; for which reason *Odyf. i.* he was called *Ξένος*; with whom *Ulysses* in *Homer* endeavours, to very little purpose, to threaten *Polypheme*.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
Ξένος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Aeneid. This Tradition *Virgil* has, among many others, trans-
i Book. planted into his *Aeneid*; where the unhappy *Dido*, when she first entertain'd her *Trojan* Guest, implores the Favour of *Jupiter*:

Jupiter, Hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Plin. N. H. *Pliny* has translated *Ξένος*, *hospitalis*, in the Account
 36 B. he gives of a Statue of *Jupiter* under that Denomination; this Statue was the Work of *Pamphilus*, a Disciple of *Praxiteles*, and to be seen in the Collection of *Asinius Pollio*. The same Word signifies Mercenaries a little lower, from whence comes *Ξενότροποι*, *μισθοφόροι*, *Ξένοι δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι*. *Harpocration*.

¹³ Συμβουλευήσεται, The difference between συμβουλευήσεται and συμβαλεῖν, appears very particularly from

Herodot. a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Polyhymnia*, συμβαλεομένη τε
in Poly- ἂν συμβαλεῖσσι τὰ ἄριστα; where the former signifies
hymnia. to ask Advice, and the latter to give it.

of his, to attend him with all the Men he could raise, giving it out that he design'd to make war upon the ¹⁴ *Pisidians*, who, it was said, infested his Country. He then order'd *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaian*, with whom also he had an Intercourse of Hospitality, to come to him with as many Men as they could raise, pretending to make war upon *Tissaphernes*, in conjunction with the banish'd *Milesians*: These too obeyed his Commands.

HAVING now determin'd to march into the *Upper Asia*, he pretended his Design was to drive the *Pisidians* entirely out of the Country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his *Barbarian* and *Greek* Forces; commanding at the same time *Glearchus* with all his Troops to attend him, and *Aristippus* to come to an Agreement with his Fellow-Citizens, and send his Army to him. He also appointed *Xenias* the *Arcadian*, who had the Command of the Mercenaries in the several Cities, to come to him with all his Men, leaving only sufficient Garrisons in the Citadels.

He

¹⁴ Πισιδες. The *Pisidians* inhabited the mountainous Part of *Asia Minor*, which lies between the *Strabo*, *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, and *Carians*, to whom they were ¹² *Book*. very troublesome Neighbours.

He next order'd all the Troops that were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*, together with the banish'd Citizens, to join him ¹⁵, engaging to the last, if his Expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his Arms, till he had restor'd them. These chearfully obey'd him, (for they gave credit to what he said) and, taking their Arms with them, came to *Sardes*. *Xenias* also came thither with the Garrisons he had drawn out of the Cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-arm'd Men. *Proxenus* brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-arm'd and five hundred ¹⁶ light-arm'd Men. *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian* a thousand heavy-arm'd; *Socrates* the *Achaian* about five hundred heavy-arm'd: *Pasion* the *Magarean* seven hundred Men. Both he and *Socrates* were among those who were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*. These came to him to ¹⁷ *Sardes*. *Tissaphernes* observing all this, and

¹⁵ Ὅτι προσχόμενοι αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐσχετεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν, &c. This Sentence is thus translated by d'Ablancourt, *avec assurance de ne plus faire d'entreprise avant leur rétablissement*, which is so apparently foreign from the Author's Sense, that it is unnecessary to make any Observations upon it.

¹⁶ Γυμνήταις. These are the same with ψιλοὶ, mention'd in the fifth Annotation.

¹⁷ Σάρδεις. *Sardes* was the Capital of *Lydia*, and the

and looking upon these Preparations as greater than were necessary against the *Pisidians*, went ¹⁸ to the King with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred Horse; and the King being inform'd by *Tisaphernes* of the intended ¹⁹ Expedition of *Cyrus*, prepar'd himself to oppose him.

CYRUS with the Forces I have mention'd march'd from *Sardes*; and advancing through *Lydia*, in ²⁰ three Days march made twenty-

two

the Seat of its Kings: The first *Cyrus* took it after a Siege of fourteen Days, and in it *Cræsus*, after he had reign'd as many Years. It was afterwards set on fire by the *Ionians*, and with it the Temple of the Goddess *Cybele*; which was the pretence afterwards made use of by *Xerxes* for burning the Temples of the *Greeks*.

Herodotus in *Clio*.

Herodotus in *Terphichore*.

¹⁸ Ὡς βασιλεία. ὡς is frequently us'd by the *Attick* Writers for *περός*, which possibly may be understood. In this Sense it is employed in the first of those two Verses which *Pompey* repeated, when he put himself in the hands of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*.

Ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
Κείνῃς ἑὶ δδλ' καὶ ἐλεύθερος μύλη.

Dion. Cassius, 42 B.

¹⁹ Τὸν Κύρου στόλον. Στόλον καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στρατεύμα. *Suidas*. καὶ ἡ διὰ γῆς πορεία. *Phavorinus*. The Author first mention'd quotes a Passage out of *Arrian*, in which στόλος is taken in the same Sense our Author uses it in this place. Σποράκις μαθὼν τὸν στόλον βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιχειρήσαντων γνώμενον, ἔφυγε.

²⁰ Σταθμὸς τρεῖς. I have said three Days march, in the same manner as the *Roman* Authors say, *tertiis Castris*, without any regard to the particular Distance from

two ²¹ Parasangas, as far as the River *Meander*: this River is two Plethra in breadth; there

from one place to another, but only to the Motion of the Army. In this I am confirm'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the March of the Greek Army in their Retreat through the Country of the *Messinians*, explains *ὀκτώ σαθμῶν* mention'd by our Author upon that occasion, by *ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτώ*.

²¹ *Παρασάγγας. Παρασάγγη, μέτρον ἰδὲ τριάκοντα στάδια ἔχον. Hesychius.* Herodotus says the same thing. On the other hand, *Strabo* says, some make it sixty, others thirty, or forty Stadia. But this may in some degree be reconcil'd by the Etymological Lexicon, which explains it thus, *παρασάγγαι, τριάκοντα στάδια παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ἐξήκοντα*: so that the Parasanga was thirty Stadia among the *Persians*, and sixty among the *Egyptians*; but as the March of the Greek Army, describ'd by our Author, lay through *Persia*, there can be no doubt but he followed their Account. It may not be improper to observe, that a Stadium contains one hundred ὀργαῖ or Fathoms, *στάδιον ὀργαῖ ἑκατὸν, Phavorinus*, that is, 600 Feet, ὀργαῖ being, according to the same Author, ἡ ἑκταῖς τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ πλάτει σήθες, that is, a Fathom. I know very well that the Greek Foot contain'd 875 Decimals more than an *English* Foot, so that whoever has a mind to be exact, must compute according to that Fraction. As the Parasanga, Stadium, and Plethrum are frequently mention'd in the Course of this History, I thought it proper to explain them at first, that we may have done with them: The Plethrum has not yet been taken notice of; *Suidas* says, it contains one hundred Feet, *ἔχει δὲ τὸ πλῆθρον πόδας ῥ'*: or, as both he, and *Phavorinus*, affirm, together with the Greek Scholiast upon this Passage of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Tityus*

——— Ὅ δ' ἐπ' ἐνεία κεῖτο πέλεθρα,

T.

there was a Bridge over it supported by seven Boats: Having passed this, he advanced through *Phrygia*, making in one day's March eight Parasangas, to *Colosea*, a large City, rich and well inhabited: there he staid seven Days: Hither *Menon* the *Thes- salian* came to him with a thousand heavy- armed Men, and five hundred Targeteers, consisting of *Dolopians*, *Enians*, and *Olynthians*. From thence he made, in three Days march, twenty Parasangas to *Celana*, a City of *Phrygia*, large, rich, and well inhabited: Here the Palace of *Cyrus* stood, with a large ²² Park full of wild

Beasts,

Τὸ τῆ σταδίου ἔκτον μέρος: The sixth part of a Stadium, that is, one hundred Feet. As the *Latin* Tongue has no Word to express πλεθρον in this Sense, with Accuracy, *jugerum* signifying a square Measure (tho' I am sensible the Poets use it also for πλεθρον) the *Latin* Translators have thought themselves under a necessity of using the word *Plethrum*: I hope I shall also be allowed to use the words *Parasanga*, *Stadium*, and *Plethrum*, after having explain'd them.

²² Παράδεισος. This Word is, no doubt, of *Per- Jul. Pollux* *sian* Original, and like many other *Persian* Words, as *B. 9. c. 3. Julius Pollux* says, commonly used by the *Greeks*. These *Segm. 13.* Parks planted with stately Forest and Fruit-Trees of every kind, well water'd, and stock'd with plenty of wild Beasts, were very deservedly in great request among the *Persians*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Tissapher- Plutarch* *nes*, to shew his Opinion of the Elegance of *Alcibiades's* in *Alci-* *Taste*, gave his Name to that which belong'd to *biades*. him. The Ecclesiastical Writers after *St. Jerome*, have thought fit to translate the Garden of *Eden* in *Moses*,

Beasts, which *Cyrus* hunted on Horse-back, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his Horses: Through the middle of this Park runs the River *Meander*, but the Head of it rises in the Palace; it runs also through the City of *Celene*. There is besides a fortify'd Palace belonging to the²³ great King in *Celene*, at the head of the River *Marsyas*, under the Citadel. This River likewise runs through the City, and falls into the *Meander*; the *Marsyas* is twenty-five Feet broad: Here *Apollo* is said to have fle'd *Marsyas*, whom contending with him²⁴ in Musick, he had overcome, and to have hung up his Skin in the Cave, from whence the Springs flow: For this reason the River is called *Marsyas*. Here *Xerxes*, when he fled from *Greece* after his Defeat, is said to have built both this Palace, and the Citadel of

Gen.ii.15. *Moses*, *Paradisus voluptatis*; and the Septuagint ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, making *Eden* an appellative, tho' they oftner make it a proper Name. The *English* Translation says, *the Garden of Eden*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*.

²³ Μεγάλῃ βασιλείᾳ. This is the Title given by all the *Greek* Authors to the King of *Persia*, which is preserv'd to the Successors of *Mahomet* in that of the Grand Seignior.

²⁴ Περὶ σοφίας. *Hutchinson* has prov'd from several Authorities, that σοφία in this place signifies Skill in Musick, rather than Wisdom.

of *Celæna*. Here *Cyrus* staid thirty Days, and hither *Clearchus* the banish'd *Lacedæmonian* came with a thousand heavy-arm'd Men, five hundred *Thracian* ²⁵ Targeteers, and two hundred *Cretan* Archers. At the same time *Sofias* the *Syracusan* came with a thousand heavy-arm'd Men, and *Sophænetus* the *Arcadian* with a thousand more. Here *Cyrus* reviewed the *Greeks* in the Park, and took an account of their Numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-arm'd Men, and about two thousand Targeteers.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in two days march ten Parasangas, and arrived at *Peltæ*, a City well inhabited: there he staid three Days, during which *Xenias* the *Arcadian* solemniz'd the ²⁶ *Lupercalian* Sacrifice, and celebrated

²⁵ Πελτασταί. Here πελτασταί seems to be taken in a comprehensive Sense, and to include all those who were not heavy-arm'd Men.

²⁶ Τὸ Ἀρκαίαν. This was an *Arcadian* Sacrifice, instituted in honour of *Pan*, and brought by *Evander* into *Italy*, when he, with his Followers, settled upon the *Palatine Hill*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, from whom *Dionysius* I have this, adds, that after the Sacrifice was over, the Hal. 1 B. Priests ran through the Streets naked all but their Middle, which was covered with the Skins of the Victims newly sacrificed; this Sacrifice, he says, continued to

celebrated a Game, the Prizes were golden
²⁷ Scrapers; at this Game *Cyrus* was present.
 From thence he made in two marches twelve
 Parasangas, and came to the Market of the
Cramians, a City well inhabited, the last
 of the Country of *Mysia*. From thence he
 made in three days march thirty Parasangas,
 and arrived at a well peopled City called
²⁸ the *Plain of Cæstrus*, where he staid
 five Days. There was now due to the Soldiers
 above three Months Pay, which they,
 coming often to ²⁹ his Door, demanded:
 He

DionCassius his time, which is confirm'd by *Dion Cassius* and *Plutarch* 45 *B. tarch.* *Virgil* has taken notice of this Circumstance
 of the *Lupercalian* Priests running naked, among the
inAntony other Points of History, with which the Shield of
Virgil 8*B.* *Æneas* is embellished,

*Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
 Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cælo
 Extuderat.*

Phavori-
 nus.
 Perſius.
 5 Sat.

²⁷ Στλεſγίδες. In *Latin* *ſtrigilas*. They were Instruments used in Bathing both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; with these they scrap'd their Bodies. *D'Ab-
 lancourt* has render'd it *des etrilles d'Or*: for which he
 makes an excuse: The best I can make for the Word
 I have made use of is, that I know no other.

²⁸ Καὶς-ρα πεδίου. *D'Ab-
 lancourt* suspects this Passage to be corrupted: But *Hutchinson* says, this Plain
 may very probably have given name to the City.

²⁹ Ιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. The Custom of attending
 at the Door of the Kings of *Persia* was introduc'd by
 the first *Cyrus*, as we find in the *Cyropædia*, ἔτω καὶ
 νῦν ἐπὶ ποῖσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες
 θεραπεύουσιν.

s B.

He continued to give them Hopes, and was visibly concern'd; for he was not of a Temper to deny Money, when he had it. Hither *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syennesis* King of the *Cilicians*, came to *Cyrus*; it was said she made him a Present of great Sums of Money. *Cyrus* therefore gave the Army four Months Pay at that time. The *Cilician* Queen had a Guard of *Cilicians* and *Aspendians*; and *Cyrus* was reported to have an Amour with her.

FROM thence he made in two days march ten Parasangas, and came to the City of ³⁰ *Thymbrium*, a Town well inhabited. Here was a Fountain near the Road, called the Fountain of *Midas*, King of *Phrygia*, where *Midas* is said to have ³¹ caught the

θεραπεύσει τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. It was in use in the time of *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*, and continued as long as the *Persian* Empire. This Compliment was ^{Herodot.} paid to the Saurapēs as well as to the Kings. It is possible the Name of the Port given to the Court of the Grand Seignior was deriv'd from hence, rather than from the great Gate leading to the Seraglio, as is generally thought.

³⁰ Θύμβριον. A Town of *Phrygia*.

³¹ Θηρεύσαι. I have translated this in the same manner as if our Author had said λαβεῖν, which is the Word made use of by *Maximus Tyrius* speaking of this Adventure; λαμβάνει τὸν Σάτυρον κεράσας ὄνῳ κρήνην. ^{Dissert.} For ^{30.}

the Satyre, by mixing the Fountain with Wine. From thence he made in two days march ten Parasangas, and arriv'd at *Tyriæum*, a populous Town. In this place he staid three Days. And here, it is said, the *Cilician* Queen desir'd *Cyrus* to shew her his Army; in compliance therefore with her Request, *Cyrus* review'd in the Plain both his *Greek* and *Barbarian* Forces; he order'd the *Greeks* to dispose themselves; according to their Custom, and stand in Order of Battle, and that each of the Commanders should draw up his own Men; so they were drawn up³² four deep. *Menon* had the right with his People, and *Clearchus* the left with his Men; the rest of the Generals were in the Center. First therefore *Cyrus* viewed the *Barbarians*, (they march'd by him drawn up in Troops³³, and Companies)

For this reason I am of opinion, that *Satyrum venatus* is not so proper in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*.

³² Επὶ τετράγων. This is what *Arrian* in his *Tactics* calls τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείνει ἐπὶ τέσσαρας. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said in *quaternis dispositi*, which I think signifies rather that they were drawn up in Platoons of four Men each. *D'Ablancourt* is much clearer, à quatre de hauteur.

³³ Κατ' ἵλας, ἢ κατὰ τάξεις. Ἴλη in *Greek*, and *turma* in *Latin*, are proper to the Horse, as τάξις and *cohors* are to the Foot; tho' I know there are some Examples where the two last are applied to the Horse also; however in this place there can be no doubt but τάξεις signifies Companies of Foot.

Companies) then the *Greeks*, *Cyrus* driving by them on a Car, and the *Cilician* Queen in a Chariot³⁴. They had all brazen Helmets, scarlet Vests, Greaves, and burnish'd Shields. After he had³⁵ pass'd by them all, he stopp'd his Car in the Center of the Front, and sending *Pigres* his Interpreter to the *Greek* Generals, he order'd the whole Line³⁶ to present their Pikes, and advance in Order of Battle: These convey'd his Orders to the Soldiers; who, when the Trumpets sounded, presented their Pikes and advanc'd, then marching³⁷ faster than ordinary

³⁴ Ἀρμαμάχης. *Plutarch* employs this Word for a *Plutarch* close Carriage used by Women. *D'Ablancourt* has not in *Themistocles*. distinguished it in his Translation from ἄμαξα.

³⁵ Ἐπεὶ πάντας παρήλασε. This is render'd by *d'Ablancourt* après les avoir contempler.

³⁶ Προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. There is a Passage quoted by *Suidas* out of *Demosthenes* in his first *Philippick*, in which προβάλλεσθαι is used in the same Sense our Author uses it here, προβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον ἢ τε ὀρεῖν, ἢ τε ἐθέλει, where *Suidas* explains προβάλλεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας by προτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην: So that προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα will be the same with κάθευ τὰ ὄρατα, a Word of Command mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*. *D'Ablancourt* has, *Arrian* in I think, said very properly qu'ils fissent baisser les bis *Tactics*. *Piques*.

³⁷ Θᾶττον. I am sensible that θᾶττον is not always used in a comparative Sense, it sometimes, though more rarely, signifies no more than εὐθὺς, ταχέως, as *Hesychius* explains it; however it is generally used in the

nary with Shouts, ran of their own accord to the Tents; upon this many of the *Barbarians* were seiz'd with Fear, the *Cilician* Queen quitted her Chariot, and fled, and the Sutlers, leaving their Commodities, ran away: The *Greeks*, not without laughter, repair'd to their Tents. The *Cilician* Queen, seeing the Lustre and Order of their Army, was in admiration, and *Cyrus* was pleas'd to see the Terror with which the *Greeks* had struck the *Barbarians*.

FROM thence he made in three days march twenty Parasangas, and came to *Iconium*, the last City of *Phrygia*. There he staid three Days. From thence he made in five days march thirty Parasangas through *Lycaonia*; this being an Enemy's Country, he gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the *Cilician* Queen into *Cilicia* the shortest way, and appointed *Menon* the *Thessalian* himself, with his Soldiers, to escort her. *Cyrus*, with the rest of the Army, mov'd on through *Cappadocia*, and, in four days march, made five and twenty Parasangas to *Dana*, a large and rich City well

Sense I have given it by the *Attick* Writers. Θᾶττον
 Ἀττικοί, τέχτιον Ἑλλήνες. *Phavorinus*.

well inhabited : Here he staid three Days, during which he put to death *Megaphernes*, a *Persian*, one of his Courtiers ³⁸, with another Person who had a principal Command, accusing them of Treachery. From thence they prepar'd to penetrate into *Cilicia*; the Entrance ³⁹ was just broad enough for a Chariot to pass, very steep, and in-

C 4

accessible

³⁸ Φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου. I have never met with the word Φοινικιστὴς in any Author but *Xenophon*, or in any Lexicon ancient or modern, but *Hesychius*, who quotes this Passage without explaining it ; so that the Readers and Translators are left to shift for themselves as well as they can. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said *Regium purpure Tinctorem*, which I can by no means approve of, since the King's Purple Dyer does neither seem to be a proper Person to attend *Cyrus* in a military Expedition, neither does he appear a proper Accomplish in a Design of this nature, with so considerable a Person as the other is represented. *D'Ablancourt* has said *Maître de sa garde-robe* ; this indeed answers the two Objections I made to the other Interpretation, but I am apt to believe, if *Xenophon* had design'd to denote any particular Office, he would have made use of the Article, and have said τὸν Φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου. *H. Stephens* has employed a very classical Word *purpuratus*, which answers properly to Φοινίζει, from whence Φοινικιστὴς is deriv'd ; this is the Sense I have given to the Word, though I am very far from being fond of it.

³⁹ Ἡ δὲ ἐκβολή. This is the Pass which *Arrian* Arrian calls τὰς πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας, which *Alexander* pos- Alex. Exp. sessed himself of, as he march'd into *Cilicia* to engage ^{2 Book.} *Darius* : The Day before, he encamp'd in the place, where we now find *Cyrus*, ἀφικόμενος, says *Arrian*, ἐπὶ τὸ Κόρυς τῷ Ἰὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, where he left *Parnian*, when he went himself to attack the Pass.

accessible to an Army, if there had been any opposition ; and *Syennesis* was said to have possess'd himself of the Eminences, in order to guard the Pass ; for which reason *Cyrus* staid one Day in the Plain. The day after, News was brought by a Messenger, that *Syennesis* had quitted the Eminences upon Information that both *Menon's* Army was in *Cilicia* within the Mountains, and also that *Tamon* was ⁴⁰ sailing round from *Ionian* to *Cilicia* with the Gallies, that belong'd to the *Lacedaemonians*, and to *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* therefore march'd up the Mountains without opposition, and ⁴¹ made himself master of the Tents, in which the *Cilicians* lay to oppose his Passage. From thence he descended into a large and beautiful Plain, well water'd, and full of all sorts of Trees and Vines ; it abounds in ⁴² Sesame, Panick, Millet,

⁴⁰ Περιπλεύσας. *Hutchinson* very justly observes, that περιπλεῖν is properly used by *Xenophon* to describe the Course a Ship must take from the Coast of *Ionian* to that of *Cilicia* : But this has not been preserv'd either in his or *Leunclavius* Translation, any more than in that of *d' Ablancourt*.

⁴¹ ἔλαε. I have followed the Conjecture of *Muretus*, who reads ἐλαε instead of εἶδε, in which I am supported by *Hutchinson*.

⁴² Σιναμον. This Plant is common in the *Levant*, and is called by *Tournefort*, *Digitalis Orientalis* ; of the Seed of this Plant they make an Oil, that is good to eat,

Millet, Wheat and Barley ; and is surrounded with a strong and high Ridge of Hills from Sea to Sea.

AFTER he had left the Mountains, he advanced thro' the Plain, and having made five and twenty Parasangas in four days march, arrived at ⁴³ *Tarsus*, a great and rich City

of eat, and for several other uses. Panick and Millet are so like to one another, that they are scarce to be distinguish'd but by the manner in which they bring forth their Grain, the former bearing it in Ears, and the latter in Bunches ; they both make very bad Bread, and are chiefly used to fat Fowls. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to render this Period by *remplie de toutes sortes de fruits & de grains* ; but his reason for it is still more curious than his Translation, I was so much entertain'd with the Vivacity of it, that I cannot help transcribing his Words ; *Je l'ay tranché*, says he, *en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un detail ennuyeux.*

⁴³ *Ταρσός.* *Tarsus*, a considerable City of *Cilicia*, was built by *Sardanapalus*, who built both that and *Anchialus*, another City not far from it, in one day ; which, though incredible to those who do not consider how many Millions of Men the *Affyrian* Kings had at their Command, is however attested by an *Affyrian* Inscription, which *Arrian* has translated : This Inscription was, it seems, engrav'd on the Monument of this Prince, upon which stood his Statue in the Attitude of a Person who expresses a Contempt, with his Hands clapp'd together, or, as *Strabo* says, I think, more probably, by seeming to snap his Fingers. The Sense of this Inscription is so very philosophical, that I cannot omit it, tho' at the same time the Phrase is so very libertine, that I shall not translate it. *Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ανακυνδαράξης παῖς, Ἀρχίαλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δὲ, ὦ ξένη, ἔσθιε, καὶ πίνε, καὶ παῖζε, ὥς*

of *Cilicia*. Here stood the Palace of *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*; the River ⁴⁴ *Cydnus* runs through the middle of the City, and is two hundred Feet in breadth. This City was ⁴⁵ abandon'd by the Inhabitants, who with *Syennesis* fled to a Fastness upon the Mountains, those only excepted who kept the publick Houses: But the Inhabitants of ⁴⁶ *Soli* and *Issi*, who liv'd near the Sea, did not quit their Habitations. *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syennesis*, came to *Tarsus* five Days

before

ὡς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ὄντα τέταρτος ἄξιον : instead of παῖζε, others read ὅχεε, which *Arrian* says is the Sense of the *Affyrian* Word: and which *Plutarch*, speaking of this Inscription, has render'd by ἀφροδισίας. *Plutarch* περὶ τούτου. *Plutarch* χης Ἀλεξάνδρου. ⁴⁴ Κυδνός. This River rises out of Mount *Taurus*, and running through a clean Country, is remarkable for the Coldness and Clearness of its Stream; this tempted *Alexander* after a long and sultry March to bathe in it, which had like to have put an end both to his Life and his Victories; but the Care of his Physician, or the Strength of his Constitution, soon recover'd him, and once more let him loose upon Mankind.

⁴⁵ Εξέλπον, &c. I agree entirely with *Hitchinson* against *Leunclavius* and *Stephens*, that there is no necessity of having recourse to *Φυγόντες*, or of any thing of that kind to perfect this Sentence. These Apophyses are frequent in the *Attick* Writers.

Strabo, ⁴⁶ Σάλοις. This City was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*. It was formerly a Colony of the *Athenians*, Eustathius who forgetting, by length of time, their Mother-*upon* Dion. Tongue, or at least the Grammar of it, spoke a barbarous Language, from whom the word *Solæcism*, so dreadful in the Ears of School-Boys, took its Name.

before *Cyrus*. In the Passage over the Mountains into the Plain, two Companies of *Menon's* Army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the *Cilicians*, and by others, that, being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the Army, or gain the Road, they wander'd about the Country and were destroy'd : ⁴⁷ The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-arm'd Men. The rest, as soon as they arriv'd, resenting the loss of their Companions, plunder'd both the City of *Tarsus*, and the Palace that stood there. *Cyrus*, as soon as he enter'd the City, sent for *Syennesis* : but he, alledging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any Person of superior Power, declin'd coming, 'till his Wife prevail'd upon him, and receiv'd assurance from *Cyrus* : After that, when they met, *Syennesis* gave *Cyrus* great Sums of Money to pay his Army, and *Cyrus* made him such Presents, as are of great value among Kings ; these were a Horse with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, and a Scimitar

⁴⁷ Ἦσαν δὲ ὅτοι ἑκατὸν ὀφλῖται. By this Passage it seems that their Companies consisted of fifty Men each.

mitar of Gold, with a *Persian* Robe, besides
 4⁸ the Exemption of his Country from
 further plunder ; to this he added the Resti-
 tution of the Prisoners they had taken,
 wherever they were found.

HERE *Cyrus* and the Army staid twenty
 Days, the Soldiers declaring they would go
 no further ; for they suspected he was lead-
 ing them against the King, and said they
 were not rais'd for that Service. *Clearchus*
 was the first, who endeavour'd to force his
 Men to go on ; but as soon as he began to
 march, they threw Stones at him, and at
 his sumpter Horses, so that he narrowly
 escap'd being then ston'd to death. After-
 wards, when he saw it was not in his power
 to prevail by force, he called his Men to-
 gether, and first he stood still a considerable
 time, shedding many Tears, while the Sol-
 diers beheld him in amaze and silence ; then
 spoke to them in the following manner :

“ FELLOW-

4⁸ Καὶ τὴν χάριν μνηστέι, &c. This Period is ce-
 lebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus* for the proper placing
 of this uncommon Gift, which, he says, if it had been
 plac'd either in the Beginning, or in the Middle, would
 have been disagreeable, but is graceful at the Close
 of it.

*Demetrius
 Phalareus
 of Elo-
 quence.*

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! wonder not that
 “ I am concern’d at the present Posture of
 “ Affairs; for I am engag’d to *Cyrus* by
 “ the Rights of Hospitality, and when I was
 “ banish’d, among other Marks of Distinc-
 “ tion with which he honour’d me, he gave
 “ me ten thousand Daricks: After I had
 “ receiv’d this Money, I did not treasure
 “ it up for my own use, or ⁴⁹ lavish it
 “ in Pleasures, but laid it out upon you:
 “ And first I made war upon the *Thra-*
 “ *cians*, and, with your Assistance, reveng’d
 “ the Injuries they had done to *Greece*,
 “ by driving them out of the *Chersonesus*,
 “ where they were endeavouring to dis-
 “ possess the *Greek* Inhabitants of their
 “ Lands. After that, when I was summon’d
 “ by *Cyrus*, I carried you to him with this
 “ view, that, if there were occasion, I might in
 “ return

⁴⁹ Οὐδὲ καθηδοπάθησα. *Que je n’ay pas emploiez
 à mes plaisirs*, in *d’Ablancourt*, does not, I think, come
 up to the Strength of the *Greek* Word; *nec per volupta-*
tem & luxum absumpsi in *Hutchinson* is far better. Sure
 this Word, which has great Energy, was never more
 properly employed than by *Plutarch* to *Mark Antony’s* *Plutarch*
 lavishing the most precious thing he could throw away, *in Antony*.
 his Time, in the Arms of *Cleopatra*, καθηδύπαθειν τὸ *Diogenes*
 πολυτελέσ-ατου ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον, where, by the *Laërtius*.
 way, *Plutarch* has taken that fine Application of πο- *Life of*
 λυτελές ἀνάλωμα to Time, from *Theophrastus*. *Theo-*
phrastus.

“ return for his ⁵⁰ Favours be of Service to
 “ him : but, since you refuse to ⁵¹ go with
 “ me, and I am under a necessity, either, by
 “ betraying you, to rely on the Friendship
 “ of *Cyrus*, or, by being false to him, to
 “ adhere to you; though I am in doubt whe-
 “ ther I shall do right or not, however, I
 “ have determin’d to give you the ⁵² prefe-
 “ rence, and with you to suffer every thing
 “ that may happen : Neither shall any one
 “ say, that, having led *Greeks* among *Bar-*
 “ *barians*, I betrayed the *Greeks*, and pre-
 “ ferred the Friendship of the *Barbarians*;
 “ but, since you refuse to obey me, and to
 “ follow me, I will follow you, and share
 “ in all your Sufferings; for I look upon
 “ you as my Country, my Friends, and
 “ Fellow-Soldiers, and that with you I shall
 “ live in honour wherever I am, but with-
 “ out you, that I shall neither be useful to my
 “ Friends, or formidable to my Enemies :
 “ Be

⁵⁰ Ωφελούν αυτόν. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*
 Cic. Epist. have said *ut ei commodarem*, which is not only the Sense,
 13. 35. but elegantly expresses *ut ei commodo essem*; *Tully* uses
 the Word in the same Sense in his Epistles. *D’Ablan-*
court has said, *pour payer ses faveurs de quelque service*,
 which I think, at least, equal to the other.

⁵¹ Αιχίσσομαι δ’ ἐν ὑμῶς. αἰεῶμαι, προκρίνω. *Pha-*
vorinus.

“ Be assur’d therefore that whither soever
 “ you go, I resolve to go with you.” Thus
 spoke *Clearchus* : The Soldiers, both those
 who belong’d to him, and the rest of the
 Army, hearing this, commended him for de-
 claring he would not march against the
 King ; and above two thousand left *Xenias*
 and *Pasion*, and taking their Arms and
 “ Baggage with them, came and encamp’d
 with *Clearchus*.

THESE things gave *Cyrus* great Perplex-
 ity and Uneasiness : so he sent for *Clear-
 chus*, who refus’d to go, but dispatch’d a Mes-
 senger to him, unknown to the Soldiers,
 with Encouragement, that this Affair would
 take a favourable Turn : he advis’d *Cyrus* to
 send for him, but at the same time let him
 know that he did not design to go to him.
 After this assembling his own Soldiers, with
 those who were lately come to him, and
 as many of the rest as desired to be pre-
 sent, he spoke to them as follows :

“ FELLOW-

⁵² Σχευοφόρα. The Passage quoted by *Hutchinson*
 out of *Herodian*, which is also quoted by *Constantin* in
 his *Lexicon*, plainly shews that *σχευοφόρα* signifies both
 the Carriages and the Beasts of Burden.

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! it is certain the Affairs of *Cyrus* are in the same Situation in respect to us, with ours in regard to him ; for neither are we any longer his Soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, neither does he any longer give us Pay. I know, he thinks himself unjustly treated by us ; so that, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him, chiefly through Shame, because I am conscious to myself of having deceiv'd him in every thing ; in the next place, through Fear, lest he should cause me to be apprehended and punished for the Wrongs he thinks I have done him. I am therefore of opinion, that this is no time for us to sleep, or to neglect the Care of our selves, but to consult what is next to be done. If we stay, we are to consider by what means we may stay with the greatest Security ; and if we resolve to go away, how we may go with the greatest Safety, and supply ourselves with Provisions ; for without these neither a Commander, or a private Man, can be of any use. *Cyrus* is a very valuable Friend, where he is a Friend, but the severest Enemy, where he is an Enemy :

“ He

“ He is also Master of that Strength in Foot,
 “ Horse, and at Sea, which we all both see
 “ and are acquainted with, for truly we do
 “ not seem to be encamp’d at a great distance
 “ from him ; so that this is the time for
 “ every one to advise what he judges best :”
 Here he stopp’d.

UPON this some rose up of their own
 accord to give their Opinions, others, by
 his Direction, to shew the Difficulties either
 of staying or going without the Approba-
 tion of *Cyrus* : One, pretending to be in
 haste to return to *Greece*, said, that, if
Clearchus refus’d to conduct them thither,
 they ought immediately to chuse other Ge-
 nerals; to buy Provisions (there being a Mar-
 ket in the *Barbarians* Camp) and pack up
 their Baggage : then go to *Cyrus*, and de-
 mand Ships of him to transport them ;
 which if he refus’d, to desire a Commander
 to conduct them; as thro’ a Friend’s Country ;
 and, if this also be refused, continued he,
 we ought forthwith to draw up in Order of
 Battle, and send a Detachment to secure
 the Eminences, that neither *Cyrus*, nor the
Cilicians, (many of whom we have taken

• VOL. I: D Prisoners;

Prisoners, and whose ³³ Effects we have plunder'd and still possess,) may prevent us : Thus he spoke ; and after him *Clearchus* said to this effect :

“ LET none of you propose me to be General in this Expedition, (for I see many things that forbid it) but consider me as one resolv'd to obey, as far as possible, the Person you shall chuse, that you may be convinc'd I also know as well as any other, how to submit to Command.” After him another got up, shewing the Folly of the Man who advis'd to demand the Ships, as if *Cyrus* would not resume his Expedition ; he shewed also

³³ *Χρήματα*. This Word in this and in many other places in *Xenophon*, as well as in other good Authors, signifies Effects rather than Money : In this Sense it is explain'd by *Hesychius*, *χρήματα*, οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι. κτήματα, βοσκήματα : This explains a Passage in *Homer*, where *Eurymachus*, one of the Suitors tells *Halitherses*, that, if *Penelope* continues to amuse them,

Odyf. β.

Χρήματα δ' αὐτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται,

Hutchinson has render'd *χρήματα* here *bona*, and *Leunclavius opes*, the latter not so properly. *D'Ablancourt* has said *ceux du país qu'on avoit pillé*, which, in my opinion, is too general, because it is applicable both to their Money and Effects ; on the other side it is not applicable to the seizing their Persons ; for I dare say those who are Criticks in the *French* Language will own, that *piller quelqu'un* does not signify to seize a Man's Person.

also how weak a thing it was to apply for a Guide to that Person whose Undertaking we had defeated. "If, says he, we can place any Confidence in a Guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring *Cyrus* himself to secure those Eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the Transports he may give us, lest he should sink both us and the ⁵⁴ Ships; I should also be afraid to follow the Guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place, out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the Consent of *Cyrus*, I wish we could also go without his Knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain Thoughts; I am therefore of opinion that proper Persons, together with *Clearchus*, should go to *Cyrus*, and ask him in what Service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that, if the present Undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign Troops,

D 2

we

⁵⁴ Αυταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύση. This Ellipsis is very frequent in *Thucydides* and *Homer*; the latter speaking of the Waste made by the wild Boar on the Lands of *OENEUS*, says, in the same Figure,

Πολλὰ δ' ὄγε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ Π. 1.
 Αυτῇσιν ρίζησι, καὶ αὐτοῖς αὐθεσι μήλων.

we will follow him, and behave ourselves no worse than those who ⁵⁵ attended him upon that occasion; but if this Enterprize appears to be of greater Moment than the former, and to be attended with greater Labour ⁵⁶ and Danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us by Persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevail'd upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him, as Friends, with Chearfulness, and if we return, we shall return with Safety: And let them report to us what he says, which we may then consider of." This was resolv'd.

HAVING chosen the Persons therefore, they sent them with *Clearchus*. These ask'd *Cyrus* the Questions appointed by the Army; to which he made answer, that he was inform'd *Abrocomas*, his Enemy, lay near the *Euphrates*, at the distance of twelve days march; against him therefore, he said, he design'd to lead them; and, if he found him there,

⁵⁵ Συναβαίντων. This relates to the three hundred Greeks, who, as our Author tells us, attended *Cyrus* to Court under the Command of *Ξένιας* of *Parrhasie*.

⁵⁶ Επιπορευτέρα καὶ ἐπικύνδυνωτέρα. These are the proper Characters that distinguish this Expedition from the former; of which however *d'Ablancourt* has not taken the least notice in his Translation.

there, his Intention was to punish him; but, if he flies from me, says he, we will there consider what we are to do. Those who were appointed to attend *Cyrus*, hearing this, made their Report to the Soldiers: These suspected his Design was to lead them against the King; however they resolv'd to follow him: And, when they demanded an Encrease of Pay, he promis'd to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, instead of one Darick, a Darick and a half every Month to each Man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the King, at least, it was not publick.

FROM thence he made in two days march ten Parasangas, to the River *Pharus*, which was three hundred Feet broad. From thence to the River *Pyramus*, which is one Stadium in breadth, making in one march five Parasangas. From thence he made in two days march fifteen Parasangas, and arriv'd at *Iffus* ⁵⁷, the last Town of *Cilicia*, situated near

⁵⁷ *Ισούς*. Hard by stands a Town now called *Scanderoon*, a Place very well known to our *Turkey* Merchants, built by *Alexander* in memory of the great Victory he obtain'd there over *Darius*, whose Mother, Wife

near the Sea ; it is a large City, rich, and well inhabited : here he staid three days, and hither five and thirty Ships came to *Cyrus* from *Peloponnesus*, and with them *Pythagoras*, a *Lacedæmonian*, the Admiral : But *Tamos*, an *Egyptian*, conducted them from *Ephesus*, bringing with him five and twenty other Ships belonging to *Cyrus*, with which he had besieg'd *Miletus*, because that City was in friendship with *Tissaphernes*, against whom *Tamos* made war in conjunction with *Cyrus*. With these Ships also came *Cheiriosophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, whom *Cyrus* had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-arm'd Men, which he commanded under *Cyrus*. The Ships ⁵⁸ lay at Anchor before *Cyrus* Tent.

Strabo,
14 B.

Wife and Children were taken Prisoners in the Action. The Bay called by *Strabo* κόλπος Ἰσκιῶς, took its Name from this Town, and is now called the Bay of Scanderoon.

⁵⁸ Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὀρμῶν, &c. I will not say that ὀρμεῖ is never used to signify a Ship that comes to Land, but I am sure it is generally applied to a Ship that lies at Anchor, and that ὀρμίζω is almost universally the Word made use of to express the former ; the difference between the two Words is particularly set forth by *Phavorinus*, ὀρμέω, says he, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἵσταμαι, ὀρμίζω δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσάγομαι : I will not therefore absolutely say that the *French* and *Latin* Translators have mistaken this Passage, but with the former, instead of saying *elles vinrent mouïller l'ancre*, had said *elles étoient à l'ancre près de la Tente de Cyrus* ; and that the latter, instead of saying *naves propter Cyri Tentorium adpulerant*, had said, *in anchoris stabant*.

Tent. Hither also four hundred heavy-arm'd Greeks, leaving *Abrocomas*, in whose Service they were, came to *Cyrus*, and march'd with him against the King.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in one march five Parafangas to the ⁵⁹ Gates of *Cilicia* and

Syria :

⁵⁹ *Επὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας.* There Plin. N.H. 5 B. c. 22. are two Passes upon the Mountains that divide *Cilicia* from *Syria*, as we find in *Pliny*, and *Tully's* Epistles, where the latter gives the Reasons why he led the Army, which he commanded as Proconsul, into *Cappadocia* rather than into *Cilicia* : *duo enim sunt aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria*, one of these is called *πύλαι Αμανικαί*, 15 B. Cicero, by *Pliny* *portæ Amani montis*, and the other simply *πύλαι*, 4 Epist. Plin. ib. or, as the last mention'd Author calls them, *portæ Ciliciæ*; the former are to the Eastward of the latter, which, as we find in this Account of *Xenophon*, lie close to the Sea. There is a doubt which of these is meant by our Author; this Doubt will be clear'd, if we look into *Arrian*, where we shall find *Alexander* to have taken the same Rout with *Cyrus* for a great way, and to have often encamp'd in the same places : After that Prince had pass'd these *πύλαι* mentioned by *Xenophon*, and while he lay with his Army at *Myriandros*, the same Arrian, place where *Cyrus* encamp'd after he had pass'd them, 2 Book. he receiv'd Advice that *Darius* had left his Camp at *Sochi*, within two days march of the *πύλαι*, and having pass'd the Mountains at the *πύλαι Αμανικαί*, or the eastern Pass, was got behind him and marching to *Iffus*. *Alexander* was pleas'd to find his Enemy had abandon'd the Advantage of a champaign Country, and shut up his numerous Army, the chief Strength of which consisted in Horse, between the Mountains and the Sea, and, marching back, possess'd himself again of the *πύλαι* that Night; the next Day he engag'd *Darius*, and the Ground between this Pass and *Iffus*

Syria : These were two Fortresses, of which the inner next *Cilicia* was possess'd by *Syennesis* with a Guard of *Cilicians*, and the outer next to *Syria* was said to be defended by the King's Troops : Between these two Fortresses runs a River called *Kersus*, one hundred Feet in breadth : The Interval between them was three Stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way ; for the Pass was narrow, the Fortresses reaching down to the Sea, and above were inaccessible ⁶⁰ Rocks. In both these Fortresses stood the Gates. In order to gain this Pass, *Cyrus* sent for his Ships, that, by landing his heavy-arm'd Men both within, and without the Gates, they might force their Passage through the *Syrian* Gates, if defended by the Enemy ; which he expected *Abrocomas*, who was at the Head of a great Army,

Diod. Sic. was the Scene of that memorable Victory : This happen'd in the 4th Year of the 111th Olympiad, 68 Years after *Cyrus* march'd through *Cilicia*.

⁶⁰ Πέτραι ἡλίβατοι. This Expression is very poetical, and often made use of by *Homer*, whose Scholiast explains it in this manner, ἥς ὁ ἥλιος μόνος ἐπιβάινει, a Rock inaccessible to every thing but to the Rays of the Sun. When *Patroclus* reproaches *Achilles* with his Cruelty in suffering the *Greeks* to be slain in such numbers for want of his Assistance, he tells him,

— ἔκ ἄρα σόι γε πατήρ ἦν ἵπποτα Πηλεὺς,
 Οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίχτε θάλασσα
 Πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοὶ νόος ἐς ἰὺν ἀπηνής.

Army, would attempt : However *Abrocomas* did not do this, but, as soon as he heard *Cyrus* was in *Cilicia*, he suddenly left *Phœnicia*, and went back to the King, with an Army, consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand Men.

FROM thence *Cyrus* advanc'd through *Syria*, and in one march made five *Parasangas* to *Myriandrus*, a City near the Sea, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*. '1 This was a Mart-Town, and many Merchant Ships lay at Anchor before it. Here they staid seven Days : During which *Xenias* the *Arcadian* General, and *Pasion* the *Megarean*, taking Ship, and putting their most valuable Effects on board, sail'd away. It was the general Opinion, that this was owing to their Resentment against *Clearchus*, whom *Cyrus* had suffer'd to retain the Troops that left them, and put themselves under his Command with a view of returning to *Greece*, and not of marching against the King.

'2 Εμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὤρμην αὐτόθι ἑλκιάδες πολλάι. Here *Hutchinson* has translated ὤρμην in the manner I have contended for in the 58th Annotation ; *Leunclavius* has still adher'd to *adpulerant*. *D'Ablancourt* has left out the whole Period in his Translation. ὁλκάς, παρὰ Θουκ., ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ναῦς. *Suidas*.

King. As soon therefore as they disappear'd, a Rumour was spread that *Cyrus* would follow them with his Galleys: Some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken: others ⁶² pitied them, if they should fall into his hands.

BUT *Cyrus* calling together the General Officers, spoke thus to them: "*Xenias* and *Pasion* have left us, but let them be assur'd that they are not ⁶³ gone away so as to be conceal'd,

⁶² Οἱ δ' ὥκτειρον εἰ ἀλώτοινο. I own, I cannot, with the *Latin* Translators, see the necessity of supplying this Sentence with any Word in order to compleat it; I think the Expression elegant, the Sense plain, and the eventual Commiseration fully pointed out by the conditional Particle εἰ.

⁶³ Ἀποδεδράκασιν. *Ammonius* and *Phavorinus* are quoted upon this occasion by *Hutchinson*, to shew the difference between ἀποδράναι and ἀποφύγειν, the first, say they, signifies τὸ ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα εὐδελον εἶναι ὅπως ἔστι, the other τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι, and, to support this, the Passage now before us in *Xenophon* is cited by *Ammonius*. Now I own, that, notwithstanding the very great deference, which I have, and which every one ought to have for those two Grammarians, and the Person who quotes them, yet I cannot help thinking that the very Passage they quote, destroys the difference they have establish'd; for, if ἀποδράναι signifies, as they say, to retire in such a manner that the Place of Retreat is known, Ἀποδεδράκασιν here must signify the reverse, for *Cyrus* tells the *Greeks* that they have not retir'd to a Place unknown to him, οὐδὲ ἀποδεδράκασιν, because he says he knows whither they

conceal'd, (for I know whither they are going) neither are they escap'd, (for my Gallies can come up with their Ship.) But I
 '4 call the Gods to witnesses that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that, while People are with me, I use their Service; but that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their Fortunes. '5 Let them

go

they are going: *Hutchinson* himself confirms what I say by his Translation, even against his own Quotation, for he says, *nec clam se aufugisse*; whereas if the Observation of the Authors he quotes, is just, and that ἀποδράναι signifies ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα εὐδηλον εἶναι, he should have translated it *nec palam se aufugisse*. I wish, I don't say for the Advantage of the Sense, but for the Ease of the Translator, that *Xenophon* had said ἀποδεδράκασι μὲν, ἢ ἀποπεφύγασι δὲ, I should then have translated it, they are fled, but not escap'd.

'4 Μὰ τὰς Θεάς. Μὰ is a negative Asseveration, and ναὶ an affirmative one.

'5 Ἰόντων. The Use of the genitive Case plural of the Participle, is very common with the *Attick* Writers, instead of the third Person plural of the imperative Mood in the same Tense, unless ἔωσαν, according to the Opinion of some Criticks, is upon those occasions to be understood. *Diogenes Laërtius* gives a remarkable Instance of something like this; *Diogenes Laërtius Life of Socrates.* it relates to the Trial of *Socrates*, where *Plato* offering to speak to the Judges in defence of his Master, began his Speech in this manner: Νεώτατός ὢν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, upon which the Judges interrupted him by calling out καταβάντων, for κατὰβηθι, and made him come down. But the

Attick

go therefore, and remember, they have behav'd themselves worse to me, than I to them. Their Wives and Children are under a Guard at *Tralles*, however not even these shall they be depriv'd of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant Behaviour they have formerly shewn in my Service." Thus *Cyrus* spoke: The *Greeks*, if any before shewed a backwardness to the Enterprize, seeing this Instance of *Cyrus* Virtue, followed him with greater Pleasure and Chearfulness.

AFTER this *Cyrus* in four days march made twenty *Parasangas*, and came to the River *Chalus*, which is one hundred Feet broad, and full ⁶⁶ of large tame Fish, which the *Attick* Authors are not singular in the Use of this Phrase: *Homer* says

Homer
II. β.

— κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
Λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγείρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

for ἀγείρέτωσαν. This Atticism is often made use of by the best Authors.

Lucian of
the Syrian
Goddeſs.

⁶⁶ Πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων, &c. *Lucian*, in his Treatise of the *Syrian* Goddeſs, has a Passage that will explain this of *Xenophon*; he says, the *Syrians* look'd upon Fish as a sacred thing, and never touch'd them; and that they eat all Birds but Pigeons, which they esteem'd holy: he adds, these Superſtitious were owing to their Respect for *Derceto* and *Semiramis*, the first of whom had the Shape of a Fish, and the other was chang'd into a Pigeon. That Author has affected to write this Treatise in the *Ionick* Stile, his Words are these:

ἰχθύας,

the *Syrians* look upon as Gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than Pigeons. The Villages in which they encamp'd belong'd

ἰχθύας, χερῆμα ἱρὸν νομίζουσι καὶ ἕκαστε ἰχθύων ψαύουσι.
καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας σιτέονται, περιστερὴν δὲ μέντην
καὶ σιτέονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσι ἡδὲ ἱερή. τὰ δὲ γινώμενα
δοκέει αὐτοῖς ποιέεσθαι Δερκετῆς, καὶ Σεμιράμις ἕνεκα.
τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετὼ μορφὴν ἰχθύος ἔχει· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι
τὸ Σεμιράμις τέλει ἐς περιστερὴν ἀπίκετο. This Diod. Sic.
Tradition is something varied by *Diodorus Siculus*, who 2 B.
says, that *Derceto* being brought to bed of *Semiramis*,
threw herself into a Lake, and was chang'd into a
Fish, for which reason, he says, the *Syrians* worshipp'd
Fish as Gods. The same Author adds, that *Semiramis*,
when a Child, was fed by Pigeons, 'till a Person who
had the Super-intendency over the King's Herds, took
her home to his own House, and called her *Semiramis*,
a Name deriv'd, as he says, from Pigeons in the *Syrian*
Language: and that this was the occasion of the Wor-
ship the *Syrians* paid to Pigeons. It may not be improp-
er to acquaint the Reader, that the Goddesses called
Derceto by the *Greeks*, and *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, Plin. Nat.
was look'd upon by the last as the Mother of *Semiramis*, Hist. 5 B.
and worshipp'd as a Goddess in *Bambyce*, by them, c. 23.
called *Magog*. *Lucian* says, she was represented in
Phœnicia as a Woman to the Waist, and from thence
as a Fish; which made *Selden* of opinion, that *Derceto* Selden de
and *Dagon*, who was also represented in the same man- Diis Syris
ner, were the same Divinity, though it is certain that Synt. 2 c. 3.
Dagon was look'd upon as a God, and *Derceto* as a
Goddess. Had *d' Ablancourt* consider'd these Matters, he
would not have been so hasty in condemning *Xenophon*
of too great Credulity, neither would he have thought
himself under any Obligation of softning, as he calls
it, these Facts, for fear of corrupting the Truth of
History: Particularly since *Diodorus Siculus* also says, Diod. Sic.
the fabulous Tradition of *Derceto* being chang'd into 2 B.
a Fish prevail'd so far, that the *Syrians*, even in his
time, abstain'd from Fish, and honour'd them as
Gods.

long'd to *Parysatis*, and were given to her for her Table ⁶⁷. From thence he made in five days march thirty *Parasangas*, and arriv'd at the Source of the River *Daradax*, of which the Breadth was one hundred Feet. Here stood the Palace of *Belesis*, who was formerly Governor of *Syria*, with a very large and beautiful Park producing every thing proper to the Season : *Cyrus* laid waste the Park, and burn'd the Palace. From thence in three days march he made fifteen *Parasangas*, and came to the River *Euphrates*, which
is

⁶⁷ Εἰς ζῶνιν δεδομέναι, &c. *Hutchinson* has departed from the Text, and without the Authority of any Manuscript, has followed *Muretus* and *Jungermannus* in reading ζῶνιν instead of ζῶν. Indeed the Passages he 3 B. c. 23. has supported this Correction with, out of *Tully*, *Plato*, *Plato* in and *Herodotus*, shew plainly, that the Kings of *Persia* used Alcib. 1 P. to give some particular Cities to their Queens to find p. 123. them in Girdles, others to find them in Necklaces, and others in Shoes; so that it cannot be denied but εἰς ζῶνιν is here very proper; but it is as certain from C. Nepos, those Authors he has quoted, and indeed from every Life of Author, who has treated of the Affairs of *Persia*, that Themis. the *Persian* Kings also assign'd particular Cities to those Athenæus whom they had a mind to honour, to find them in δειπν. Bread, others to find them in Wine, and others in 1 B. c. 23. Meat, or, as some will have it, in Fish. In this manner *Artaxerxes* Μακρόχαιρος, distinguish'd *Themistocles*, Plutarch in The- εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, as *Plutarch* and *Thucydides* mistocles. say; so that it is not at all improbable the Villages our Author here speaks of, might be assign'd to *Parysatis* to supply her Table; but if the Reader prefers ζῶνιν, it must then be translated, that these Villages were given to *Parysatis* to find her in Girdles.

is four Stadia in breadth. There stood
⁶⁸ *Thapsacus*, a large and flourishing City,
 here they staid five Days; during which *Cyrus*,
 sending for the Generals of the *Greeks*, told
 them that he propos'd to march to *Babylon*
 against the great King, and order'd them to
 acquaint the Soldiers with this, and to per-
 suade them to follow him. They, calling
 them together, inform'd them of it; but the
 Soldiers were angry with their Generals,
 saying they knew this before, but conceal'd
 it from them; and refus'd to march, unless
 they had Money given them, as the other
 Soldiers had, who before attended *Cyrus* to
 his Father, and that not to fight, but only
 to wait upon him, when his Father sent for
 him. The Generals gave *Cyrus* an account
 of this; and he promis'd to give every Man
 five ⁶⁹ Minæ of Silver, as soon as they
 came to *Babylon*, and their full Pay, 'till he
 brought them back to *Ionia*. By this means
 great part of the *Greeks* were prevail'd upon.
 But *Menon*, before it appear'd whether the
 rest of the Soldiers would follow *Cyrus*, or
 not, called his own Men together apart,
 and spoke thus to them: FELLOW-

⁶⁸ Θάψακος. Here *Darius* pass'd the *Euphrates*
 with the broken Remains of his Army, after his De-
 feat at *Iffus*.

Arrian
 2 Book.
 Exp. Alex.

⁶⁹ Πέντε Αργυρίε μνᾶς. See the 11th Remark.

“FELLOW-Soldiers! if you will follow my Advice, you shall, without either Danger, or Labour, be in greater esteem with *Cyrus*, than the rest of the Army. What then do I advise? *Cyrus* is this minute entreating the *Greeks* to follow him against the King: I say therefore we ought to pass the *Euphrates*, before it appears what Answer the rest of the *Greeks* will make to him; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be look'd upon as the Cause of it by first passing the River, and *Cyrus* will not only think himself under an Obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his Service, but will return it, (which no Man better understands); but if the rest determine otherwise, we will ⁷⁰ then all return: As you only are obedient to his Orders, he will look upon you as Persons of the greatest Fidelity, and as such employ you in the Command both of Garrisons and of Companies; and I am confident you will find *Cyrus* your Friend ⁷¹ in what-

ever

⁷⁰ Ἀπικν. *Hutchinson* has observed from *Stephens*, that εἶμι is remarkable among those Verbs which the *Attick* Writers use in the present Tense, instead of the future.

⁷¹ Ὡς φίλος. I agree with *Hutchinson* that this is an Ellipsis, and that ὑπὸ, or something like it, is

ever else you desire of him." The Soldiers, hearing this, followed his Advice, and pass'd the *Euphrates*, before the rest had return'd an Answer: When *Cyrus* heard they had pass'd the River, he was pleas'd, and sending *Glas* to them, order'd him to say to them in his Name; "Soldiers! I praise you now for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer *Cyrus*." Upon this the Soldiers conceiv'd great hopes, and prayed for his Success: It was reported that he also sent magnificent Presents to *Menon*. After this he pass'd the River, and all the rest of the Army followed; in their Passage the Water did not come up higher than their Breasts. The Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* said that the River was never fordable before, or passable but in Boats, which *Abrocomas* had burn'd, as he march'd before them, to prevent *Cyrus* from passing over: it seem'd therefore providential

is to be understood; without condemning ὑπὸ, I should like παρά full as well; thus *Telemachus* tells *Menelaus* in the same Phrase,

———παρὰ σείῳ τυχῶν φιλότῃτ' ἀπάσης
"Ἐρχομαι.

Homer
Odyss. O.

vidential ⁷², and that the River visibly submitted to *Cyrus*, as to its future King.

FROM thence he advanc'd through ⁷³ *Syria*, and having in nine days march made fifty *Parasangas*, came to the River ⁷⁴ *Araxes*: here were many Villages full of Corn and Wine. There they staid three Days, and made their Provisions: from thence he mov'd on through

Arrian 3
B.

⁷² Εἰδοὺς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπεν. I make no doubt but what *Xenophon* says concerning this Submission of the *Euphrates*, was the Stile of *Cyrus* Court upon this occasion. It seems the *Euphrates* was not indued with the same Spirit of Prophecy that *Horace* gives to *Nereus*: otherwise, like him, he would have cried out *mala ducis avi*; and not have suffered his Army to have forded him so easily, a favour he afterwards denied to *Alexander*, whose Success might have given him a better Title to it, and who was oblig'd to pass this River at the same Place over two Bridges.

⁷³ Διὰ τῆς Συρίας. Let not the Reader be surpriz'd to find *Xenophon* mentions *Syria* in *Mesopotamia*, through which he is now conducting *Cyrus*; for it appears both by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the Country lying 5 B. c. 12. between *Thapsacus*, and the *Scenite Arabians*, of whom *Strabo*, 16 he will speak presently, was part of *Syria*.

⁷⁴ Ἀράξην. I never yet could find this River in any other Author but *Xenophon*, I mean a River call'd *Araxes*, that runs through this Part of *Syria*; for every body knows there are Rivers of this Name in other Parts of *Asia*, so must submit it to the Learned whether this River is the *Ahoras* of *Marcellinus*, which *Strabo* calls Ἀβόρρας, and *Ptolemy* χαβώρας, and the 5 B. c. 18. *Arabians Al Chabur*.

Ammian.
Marcel.
5 B. c. 18.
Strabo,
16 Book.
Ptolemy,
5 B. c. 18.

through ⁷⁵ *Arabia*, keeping the River *Euphrates* on his right hand, and in five days march through a Desert, made thirty-five Parasangas. The Country was a Plain throughout, as even as the Sea, and full of Wormwood; and, if any other kinds of Shrubs, or Reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic Smell: but no Trees appear'd. Of wild Creatures, the most numerous were wild ⁷⁶ Asses, and not a few Ostriches:

⁷⁵ Διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας. The Inhabitants of this Part of *Arabia* are called by *Strabo* Σκνίται Ἀραβες, they *Strabo* were a vagabond People, and, like most of their Coun- 16 B. trymen, great Robbers; *Nomades*, *infestoresque Chaldaeorum*, *Scenitæ*, says *Pliny*, *a tabernaculis cognominati*: *Plin.* 6 B. they were afterwards called *Saracens*; which Name c. 28. *Scagiler* derives from *Saric*, which in *Arabic* signifies *Ammian*, a Robber: Those, who have travell'd through *Asia*, will not think this Etymology forc'd.

⁷⁶ Ἀγροὶ ὄνοι. All Authors, both ancient and modern, agree, that wild Asses are exceeding swift. *Oppian*. *Op-* *Kuvny*. *pian*, in his Treatise of Hunting, calls the wild Ass 3 B. ἀελλοπόδην, swift as the Wind, an Epithet given by *Homer* to the Horses which *Jupiter* bestowed on the *Homer* Father of *Ganymede*, to make him some amends for the loss of his Son. The wild Ass is very different both in its Shape and Colour from the common Ass. There is a Skin of this Animal at the College of Physicians in *London*; another I have seen, among many other Curiosities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern, belonging to my Neighbour Sir *Andrew Fountaine*: The first of these is stuff'd, and by that the Creature appears to have been between twelve and thirteen Hands high; the Colour of every Part about him is compos'd of white and chesnut Stripes, his Ears, Mane, and Tail

Ostriches ⁷⁷: there were also ⁷⁸ Bustards;
and ⁷⁹ Roe-Deer: These Creatures our
Horse-

Tail are like those of a common Ass; his Forehand is long and thin, his Shoulders fine, his Back straight, his Body full, his Hoofs a little bound, his Legs perfectly fine; he seems a little goose-rump'd, his Quarters are thin and lying under him, and his Hams bent inward; to these three last Shapes he very probably owes his Speed. This Doctrine I know all Sportsmen will not allow, but many Observations in Sporting have convinc'd me of the Truth of it. Wild Asses were sometimes made use of by the Ancients to cover Mares, in order to breed Mules; but all their Authors agree, that the best Stallion for that purpose was an Ass bred between a wild Male Ass, and a Female of the common kind. *Pliny* tells us also, that the Foals of wild Asses were called *Lalifiones*, and were delicate Meat. Wild Asses are common in the Deserts of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, and particularly in *Arabia*; they are sold at an excessive Price when reclaim'd, and it is said the Kings of *Persia* have always Stables of them. When they are young, their Flesh is like that of a Hare, and when old, like red Venison.

Plin. N.H.
8 B.

Galen.

⁷⁷ Στραβοὶ αἱ μεγάλοι. Ostriches are Animals very well known, they are common in *Africa*, *South America*, and many Parts of the *Levant*; as *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, &c. I remember to have seen two that were shewn at *London*; we were inform'd they came from *Buenos Ayres*: they answer'd the Description given of them in Books. Their Feathers, in so great request for several kinds of Ornaments, particularly upon the Stage, and anciently in War, *conos galeasque adornantes penna*, says *Pliny*; these, I say, come from their Tail and Wings, and are generally white: The Feather of an Ostrich was among the *Egyptians* the Emblem of Justice. All Authors agree, that in running they assist themselves with their Wings, in the manner described by *Xenophon*: some have thought that this compound Motion, which consists both of flying and running, gave occasion to the Fiction of the poetical Horse,

Plin. N.H.
10 B. c. 1.

Urretz
Hist. of
Aethiopia.

Horsemen sometimes chac'd. The Asses, when they were pursu'd, having gain'd ground of the Horses, stood still, (for they exceeded them much in speed) and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again: so that our Horsemen could

E 3

take

Horse, *Pegasus*. It is said they eat Iron, which is so far true, that in those dissected in the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, they found several Pieces of Iron-Money in them more than half diminish'd; but this was occasion'd by the mutual Attrition of those Pieces, and not by Digestion, for they swallow Iron to grind their Meat, as other Birds swallow Pebbles for the same purpose.

⁷⁸ *Ωτρίδες*. Bustards are very well known to Sportsmen; we have great numbers of them in *Norfolk*; they are remarkable for having no more than three Claws, like the Dotterel, and some few other Birds; they are scarce to be approach'd by any Contrivance, as I have been taught by many Disappointments: possibly this may be owing to their exquisite Sense of hearing, no Bird having in proportion to its Size, so large an Aperture to convey it. What *Xenophon* says concerning their short Flights, can only be understood of them before they are full grown, for, when they are so, they make Flights of five or six Miles with great ease. *Pliny* and *Xenophon*, like many other Peo-Pl. 10 B, ple, differ in their Taste with relation to Bustards; c. 22, the first calls them *damnatas in Cibis*, the last, we find, commends them.

⁷⁹ *Δαμαλάδες*. We have no Roe-Deer in the South of *England*, they are common in *France*, *des Chevreuils*: I have often seen them hunted there; they run the Foil more than a Hare, and hunt shorter; they have great speed, but, as they do not run within themselves, but often tapise, and consequently give frequent Views, they seldom stand long even before their Hounds. They are vastly less than our Fallow Deer, and are very good Meat, when fat, which seldom happens.

take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into Relays, and succeeding one another in the Chace. The Flesh of those that were taken was like that of red Deer, but more tender. But none could take an Ostrich, the Horsemen, who pursued them, soon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making use both of their Feet to run, and of their Wings, when expanded, as a Sail, to waft them along. As for the Bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, for they make short flights, like Partridges, and are soon tir'd. Their Flesh was very delicious.

IN marching through this Country they came to the River *Masca*, which is a hundred Feet in breadth. Here was a large City uninhabited, called *Corfote*; the River runs quite round it: in this place they staid three Days, and made their Provisions. From thence he made ninety Parasangas in thirteen days march, through a Desert, keeping the *Euphrates* still on his right, and came to *Pylæ*. In these Marches many sumpter Horses died of Hunger, for here was no Grass, nor any other Plant, but the whole Country was bare: the Inhabitants
dig

dig ⁸⁰ Mill-stones near the River, and having fashion'd them, carry these Stones to *Babylon*, where they sell them, and in return buy Provisions for their support. By this time the Army wanted Corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the *Lydian* Market, which was in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, belonging to *Cyrus*, where a ⁸¹ Capithe of ⁸² Wheat, or Barley-Meal was sold for four ⁸³ Sigli. The Siglus is worth seven *Attick* Oboli ⁸⁴ and a half; and the Capithe holds two *Attick* ⁸⁵ Chœnixes: so that the Sol-

E 4

diers

⁸⁰ Οὐκ ἀλέτας. Οὐκ ὁ ἀνώτερος λίθος τῆς μύλης. *Phavorinus*. So that ὄνοι ἀλέται, signify properly the upper Mill-stones.

⁸¹ Καπιθῆ. From this Passage it appears that the Καπιθῆ held two *Attick* Chœnixes.

⁸² Ἀλέων. *Hutchinson* has, with great Judgment, supported the *Greek* Text against *Muretus*, who wanted to strike out ἀλέων, as signifying the same thing with ἀλφίτων, whereas *Phavorinus* from the Scholiast of *Æschylus*, plainly distinguishes ἄλευρα from ἄλφιστα, shewing that the first signifies the Flower of Wheat, and the other that of Barley. Ἀλευρα κυρίως τὰ ἐκ σίτου, ἄλφιστα τὰ ἐκ κριθῶν ἄλευρα. *Phavorinus*. *Æschyl.* *Schol.* p. 31.

⁸³ Σίγλῳ. This was a *Persian* Coin: *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* make it worth eight ὀβολοί, but this Passage shews it was worth but $7\frac{1}{2}$.

⁸⁴ Ὀβολός. The ὀβολός was the sixth part of a *Phavorinus* Drachm, it was called so from its Resemblance to a Spit. nus. *Julius* See the 11th Annotation concerning the *Greek* Coins. *Pollux*.

⁸⁵ Χοῖνιξ. A dry Measure containing three Κοτύλαι, which were equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the ξίτης; the χοῖνιξ contain'd 49.737 solid Inches, *Arbuthnot*.

diers liv'd upon Flesh. Some of these Marches were very long, when *Cyrus* had a mind his Army should go on 'till they came to water or forage. And once where the Road was narrow and so deep, that the Carriages could not pass without difficulty, *Cyrus* stopp'd with those about him of the greatest Authority, and Fortune, and order'd *Glus* and *Pigres* to take some of the *Barbarians* belonging to his Army and help the Carriages through: but, thinking they went slowly about it, he order'd, as in Anger, the most considerable *Persians*, who were with him, to assist in hastening on the Carriages; This afforded an Instance of their ready Obedience; for, throwing off their purple⁸⁶ Robes, where each of them happen'd to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a Prize, even down a very steep Hill, in their costly Vests, and embroider'd⁸⁷ Drawers, some even with Chains about their

⁸⁶ Κάπυς. Κάπυς, χιτὼν Περσικός. *Suidas*. A *Persian* Robe.

Diodorus Siculus
5. B.

⁸⁷ Αὐχρῆδες. Ἀυχρῆδες were also part of the Dress of the old *Gauls*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, they called them Βράχαι, which *Bracca* it is certain gave name to a very considerable Part of *France*, called from thence *Gallia Braccata*, the same with *Gallia Narbonensis*: The *French* Language has retain'd

their Necks, and Bracelets round their Wrists; and, leaping into the Dirt with these, they lifted up the Carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagin'd. Upon the whole, *Cyrus* appear'd throughout to hasten their march, stopping no where, unless to get Provisions, or for something else that was necessary; for he judged that the quicker he march'd, the more unprepar'd the King would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the King's Army; for it was obvious to any Person of Attention, that the *Persian* Empire, though strong with regard to the ⁸⁸ Extent of Country, and Numbers

of
tain'd this word, *Bragues*, which is soften'd into a more modern one *Brayes*. I leave it to some profound Antiquary, who may be dispos'd to employ his idle Labour in this Enquiry, to consider how far this Dress, ^{Persius,} from which *Persius* calls the *Medes*, *Medos Braccatos*, ^{3 Sat.} and which *Ovid* calls *Persica Bracca*, how far, I say, ^{Ovid, 5 B.} this Dress, which we find to have been common both ^{Trist.} to the *Persians* and *Gauls* of old, may be a proof of their being descended originally from the same People, that is, the *Scythians*, who, after they had conquer'd the *Medes*, continued Masters of that Part of *Asia* for eight and twenty Years; particularly since we find in *Herodotus*, that among the *Persians* there was a People ^{Herodotus} called *Γερμανίαις*, *Germans*. ^{Clio.}

⁸⁸ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ. This Word signifies Quantity in this place, when applied to the Country; and Number, when applied to the Men; it is frequently used by the best Authors in the first Sense as well as the last.

of Men, was however weak by reason of the great Distance of Places, and the Division of its Forces, when surpriz'd by a sudden Invasion.

DURING their march through the Desert, they saw a large and rich City on the other side of the *Euphrates*, called *Carmande*; here the Soldiers bought ⁸⁹ Provisions, passing over to it ⁹⁰ upon Rafts, in the

⁸⁹ *ἡγόραζον*. Somebody has violently provok'd *Hutchinson* by finding fault with the Scripture-Writers, for making use of this Word in the Sense *Xenophon* uses it upon this occasion: There can be no doubt but *ἀγοράζειν* is to be found in the best Authors in this Sense; I remember a Passage in *Isocrates* to *Nicocles*, which will not only support what I have said, but may well deserve translating; *δορεὰς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονα ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων*. *Θου* (Men of Fortune) purchase Presents much dearer from those who give, than from those who sell.

Odyss. ε.

⁹⁰ *Σχεδίστις*. Whenever *Homer* speaks of the Boat, which *Ulysses* built with his own Hands in four Days, in *Ogygia*, *Calypso's* Island, he calls it *σχεδὴν*, which is thus explain'd by the Scholiast, *εἰκαίως κατασκευασθεῖσα ναῦς*; a Boat built on a sudden; it signifies also

Herodotus an extemporary Bridge, in which Sense *Herodotus* applies it to the two Bridges of Boats, over which *Xerxes* pass'd the *Hellepont*. Here *Xenophon* uses it for a Raft, (if I may be allowed to make use of that Word upon this occasion) made of Skins stuff'd with Hay.

Herodotus
Polyhym-
nia.

the following manner : They filled the ⁹¹ Skins, which they made use of for Tents, with dry Hay ; then join'd, and sewed them together so close, that the Water could not get at the Hay : upon these they passed the River, and got Provisions ; such as Wine made of the ⁹² Fruit of the Palm-Tree, and
Panic,

⁹¹ Διφθέρας. This Method of passing Rivers was formerly much in use ; as the Soldiers Tents were generally made of Skins, instead of Canvas, they had always great numbers of them at hand ; the Tents of the Romans were also made of Skins, from whence come these Phrases, *sub pellibus durare*, and *sub pellibus contineri*, which we find in *Livy* and *Cæsar*. *Alexander*, in his victorious March through *Asia*, pass'd several Rivers in this manner, particularly the *Oxus*, the Passage of which is describ'd by *Arrian* in such a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this Description of *Xenophon* in his Eye, which, I think, he explains much better than I can, his Words are these : *ξυναγαγὼν ἐν τὰς διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνην αἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτε, καὶ καταδῆσαι τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς τῷ μὴ ἐνδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τῷ ὕδατι*.

Livy, 5 B.
Cæsar B.
G. 4 B.
c. 38.

3 B.

⁹² Τῆς βαλάνου. The Fruit of the Palm-Tree is properly called Dates, of which there is an infinite variety : of these they make in *Persia* a Wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well : of this Wine, *Cambyfes*, when he was in *Egypt*, sent a Hog's head to the King of the *Æthiopians*. as a Present ; with this Wine the *Egyptians* wash'd their dead Bodies before they embalm'd them. By the way, I have always thought, that the Fruit of a certain Palm-Tree, describ'd by *Pliny*, who calls the Trees *Syagri*, answers exactly to the Coco-nut : This Palm-Tree, he says, grew in that Part of the *Lower Egypt*, which he calls *Chora Alexandria* ;

Herodotus
Thalia.
Id. in Euterpe.

Plin. N.H.
13 B. c. 9.

Panic, for of this there was great plenty in the Country. Here, some dispute arising between *Menon's* Soldiers, and those of *Clearchus*, the latter, thinking one of *Menon's* Men in the wrong, struck him; the Soldier, going to his Companions, inform'd them of it; these, hearing what had pass'd, resented it, and were violently incens'd against *Clearchus*: The same day *Clearchus*⁹³, after he had been at the place, where the Men pass'd the River, and inspected the Provisions, rode back to his own Tent with a few Attendants through *Menon's* Army. *Cyrus* was not yet arriv'd, but on his way thither. It happen'd that one of *Menon's* Soldiers, as he was riving Wood, saw *Clearchus* riding through the Camp, and threw his Ax at him, but miss'd him; then another, and another threw Stones at him, upon which, a great Outcry ensuing, many did the same. However,

Clearchus

Alexandriæ; the Description he gives of its Fruit, is, as follows, *Ipsum Pomum grande, durum, horridum & a cæteris generibus distans sapore ferino, quem ferre in Apris novimus, evidentissimèque causa est nominis.*

⁹³ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς παταμῆς, καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this in his Translation, as he has this Parenthesis also, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔπειτα ἦεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προσέτι

λαοῦ.

Clearchus escap'd to his own Quarter, and immediately order'd his Men to their Arms; he commanded the heavy-arm'd Soldiers to stand still, resting their Shields against their Knees, and taking with him the *Thracians* and the Horse, of whom he had above forty in his Army, the greatest part *Thracians*, he rode up to *Menon's* Men, who upon this were in great Consternation, as well as *Menon* himself, and ran to their Arms: Others stood amaz'd, not knowing what to do; but *Proxenus*, for he happen'd to be coming after them at the Head of his heavy-arm'd Men, advanc'd between them both, and, ⁹⁴ making his

⁹⁴ ΕΒΕΤΟ ΤΑ ὄπλα. *Hutchinson* with great reason finds fault with *Leunclavius* for translating this *arma deponebat*, for it really signifies the reverse, as he has very properly render'd it, *armis ritè dispositis*, and as *Harpocration* explains this Phrase, θέμεν τὰ ὄπλα, περιθέμεν, ὀπλισάμεν; And as *Shakespeare* has said, according to his Custom, more beautifully than any other Author, *the Powers above put on their Instruments*. Not that I imagine *Proxenus*, when he advanc'd between *Menon* and *Clearchus*, had his Armour to put on, but that he ordered his Men to stand to their Arms, that he might be prepar'd to prevent their engaging by force, if he could not prevail by fair means. Upon the whole, I look upon it that *Proxenus* put his Men in the same Posture, into which *Eurypylus* in *Homer* threw the *Greeks*, in order to secure the Retreat of *Ajax*, when he was push'd by the *Trojans*, Macbeth,

his Soldiers stand to their Arms, begg'd of *Clearchus* to desist. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly escap'd being ston'd to death, the other should speak tamely of his Grievance: And therefore desir'd he would with-draw from between them. In the mean time *Cyrus* came up, and being inform'd of what had happen'd, immediately took his Arms, and with the *Persians* who were present, rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: "*Clearchus!* and *Proxenus!* and you "*Greeks* who are present! you are not "*sensible* of what you are doing: for, if "*you* fight with one another, be assur'd, "*that* I shall this day be destroy'd, and "*you* not long after: for, if our Affairs "*decline*, all these *Barbarians*, whom you "*see* before you, will be greater Enemies "*to* you than those belonging to the King." *Clearchus*, hearing this, came to himself, and

ll. A.

οἱ, δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν

Πλησίοι ἔστησαν σάκε ὤμοισι κλίναντες
Δέρατ' ἀνάσχομενοι.

D'Abblancourt foresaw the Difficulty of this Passage, and prudently avoided it by leaving it quite out, a Conduct he observed about three Lines above, where he also omitted to translate οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀπορῶντες τῷ πράγματι.

and both sides resigning their Anger, laid up their Arms⁹⁵ where they were before.

WHILE they were marching forward, there appeared the Footing and Dung of Horses, and, by the⁹⁶ Print of their Feet they were judged to be about two thousand :

⁹⁵ Κατὰ χώραν. I own, I cannot agree with Hutchinson that κατὰ χώραν, in this place, signifies *suo ordine & loco, ubi arma iter facientium disponi par est* : I think that is rather the Signification of ἐν χώρᾳ, than of κατὰ χώραν, the last implying no more than that a thing remain'd in the same place it was in before. In this Sense Aristophanes says, ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐ τὸ βλέμμ' Aristop. αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, his Look even is not the in Pluto. same. So that a thing may be κατὰ χώραν, and not ἐν χώρᾳ, in the place it was, and not in the place it ought to be.

⁹⁶ Ο ἱβ. I make no doubt but ἱβ. signifies, as Hutchinson has translated it, ὁδ. : but I hope it will be allowed that it signifies also the Print of Feet ; there is a Passage in Homer, in his Hymn to Homer Mercury, which plainly proves that ἱβ. has both Hymn to these Significations, for which reason I shall tran-Mercury. scribe it :

Οἶρα μὲν ἔν' ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,
Ρεῖα μάλ' ἵχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κοιήσιν.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμαθοῖο μέγαν ἱβον ἐξεπέρησεν,
Αφρατὸς γένετ' ὥκα βοῶν ἱβ., ἥδ' ἐ καὶ αὐτὴ
Χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν.

I shall hazard an Observation to shew, that our Author uses the Word here to signify the Print of the Horses Feet, it is this: The Article ὁ before ἱβ. seems to me to refer to ἵχνη ἵππων, mention'd in the foregoing Line.

sand : These, marching before, burn'd all the Forage, and every thing else that could be of any use. There was a *Persian*, by Name *Orontas*, a Prince of the Blood; and of a Reputation in military Affairs equal to the most considerable among the *Persians*. This Man form'd a Design to betray *Cyrus*, with whom he had before been at war ; but, being now reconcil'd, he told *Cyrus*, that, if he would give him a thousand Horse, he would place himself in Ambuscade, and either destroy those Horse that burn'd all before him, or take a great many of them Prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the Country, and from being able to inform the King that they had seen his Army. *Cyrus* thought this Proposal for his Service, and ordered him to take a Detachment out of every Troop belonging to the several Commanders.

ORONTAS thinking the Horse were ready, writes a Letter to the King, in which he acquaints him, that he should come to him with as many Horse as he could get, and desires him to give Orders
to

to his own Horse that they ⁹⁷ should receive him as a Friend : he also put him in mind of his former Friendship and Fidelity. This Letter he gives to a trusty Person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had receiv'd it, delivers it to *Cyrus* : After *Cyrus* had read the Contents, he orders *Orontas* to be apprehended, and causes ⁹⁸ seven of the most considerable *Persians* about him to assemble in his Tent ; giving at the same time Orders to the *Greek* Generals to bring their heavy-arm'd

⁹⁷ Αλλά. Ἀλλά is here, as *Hutchinson* has observed, παρακλευστικόν, an exhortative Particle ; in which Sense it is frequently used by *Xenophon*, and indeed by all Authors, particularly by *Homer*. There is a necessity of so frequent a Repetition in this place, that it unavoidably renders the Translation disagreeable ; the difference in the Termination of ἱππείας and ἱππεῖσι, and in *Latin* of *Equites* and *Equitibus*, makes the Reader insensible of this Repetition ; this is one Disadvantage, among many others, to which a literal Translation, in a modern Language, is subject. *D'Ablancourt* always avoids these Repetitions, and every thing else that lays him under any Restraint, whatever Violence he may do to the Author's Sense ; it must be own'd, his Method gives a Translation the Air of an Original, but then it often makes it one.

⁹⁸ Τῶν ἀρίστων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ. We often *Joseph.* find a Council of seven mention'd by the Writers, 12 B. who treat of the Affairs of *Persia* ; which Council *Jew. Ant.* seems to have been instituted in memory of the seven c. 6. *Persian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death : of *Zonaras*, whom *Darius Hystaspes*, afterwards King of *Persia*, ^{1 tom.} *Esdrae* 7. c. *Herodotus* in *Thalia*. was one.

arm'd Men, and place them round his Tent, with their Arms in their Hands: these obeyed his Commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-arm'd Men. He also called *Clearchus* to the Council, as a Man, whom both he, and the rest look'd upon to be of the greatest Dignity among the *Greeks*. When he came out, he gave his Friends an account of the Trial of *Orontas*, for Secrecy was not enjoin'd. He said *Cyrus* began his Speech in this manner:

“ FRIENDS! I have called you hither to
 “ the end that I may consider with you of
 “ what is most just both in the fight of Gods
 “ and Men, and accordingly proceed against
 “ this Criminal *Orontas*. In the first place,
 “ my Father appointed ¹⁰⁹ this Man to be my
 “ Subject;

⁹⁹ Τὴν κρίσιν τῷ Ορόντε. Sure, *comme le procès d'Oronte avoit été jugé*, would have been as proper a Translation of these Words, as *comme la chose s'étoit passée*, in *d'Ablancourt*.

¹⁰⁰ Τῶτον γάρ. Γὰρ in this place is not design'd to introduce a Reason for what precedes, but to inforce what follows, as in *Homer*,

Homer
 Il. π.

Αυτήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ δ' ἀνέξομαι, ὅφρα δαείω,
 Οὔτις ὅδε κρατέει.

D'Ablancourt has render'd ὑπὸ πύλοισιν ἐμοὶ εἶναι in the same Sentence, *pour m'accompagner*.

“ Subject ; ¹⁰¹ afterwards, by the Command,
 “ as he says, of my Brother, he made war
 “ upon me, being then in possession of
 “ the Citadel of *Sardes* ; this War I prose-
 “ cuted in such a manner, as to dispose him
 “ to desire an end of it, and I received his
 “ ¹⁰² Hand, and gave him mine. Since that
 “ time, continued *Cyrus*, say *Orontas*, have
 “ I done you any Injury ?” To which he an-
 “ swer’d, none. *Cyrus* again ask’d him, “ Did
 “ not you afterwards, without any Provoca-
 “ tion from me, as you yourself own, re-
 “ volt to the *Mysians*, and lay waste my
 “ Country to the utmost of your power ?”
Orontas own’d it. “ After that, continued

F 2

“ *Cyrus*,

¹⁰¹ Ἐπεὶ δέ. I have translated this as if *Xenophon*
 had said ἔπειτα δέ, in which Sense ἐπεὶ δέ seems to
 answer better to πρώτον μὲν : *Hutchinson* has said *postea-*
quam, which has no relation to *primum*, I think *deinde*
 would have been better.

¹⁰² Δεξιὰν ἔλαβον. *Hutchinson*, in his Annotations
 upon the Institution of *Cyrus*, has brought several Au-
 thorities to prove, that the Kings of *Persia* used to
 pledge their Faith by giving their right Hands, which
 to be sure is true ; but this Custom was also observ’d
 by all Nations, and by the *Greeks*, so early as in *Homer*’s
 Days, as we learn from *Nestor*’s Speech to the *Greek*
 Commanders,

Σπονδαὶ τ’ ἀκρητοί, καὶ δεξιάι, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν.

Homer II.

Which I need not translate, because *Ovid* has almost
 done it for me.

Jura, Fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextræ ?

Ovid.
 2 *Epist.*

“ *Cyrus*, when you again became sensible of
 “ your want of power, did not you fly to
 “ the ¹⁰³ Altar of *Diana*, profess Repen-
 “ tance, and having prevail’d with me, give
 “ me again your Faith, and receive mine ?”
 This also *Orontas* confess’d. “ What Injury
 “ then, says *Cyrus*, have I done you, that
 “ you should now, for the third time, be
 “ found endeavouring to betray me ?” And,
 upon *Orontas* saying that he was not pro-
 vok’d

¹⁰³ Επὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμόν. *Hutchinson* is of opinion, that this must be the Altar of *Diana* of *Ephesus* : which to me seems very probable, for this reason, because that Altar was a very ancient Sanctuary,

Eustathius so ancient that *Eustathius*, in his Annotations on *Dionysius περιηγῆτης*, says, the *Amazons* being pursued by

Hercules, and flying to this Altar, were protected by the Religion of it. As the *Persians* worshipp’d the

Sun and *Moon*, it is no wonder they had a respect for the Altar of *Diana*, which may be the reason why

they spar’d *Delus* and *Ephesus*, when they burn’d all the other *Greek* Temples. It is certain this could not

be a *Persian* Altar, if what *Herodotus* says be true, that the *Persians* erected none to their Gods. Though it is certain there was a Temple in *Ecbatana* dedicated

to *Diana*, under the Name of *Anitis* ; since *Plutarch* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* made *Aspasia* a Priestess of that

Goddeß, to disappoint *Darius*, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Εὐβατανόις, ἣν Ἀνείτιν καλεῖσι, ἱερὰν ἀπέδειξεν αὐτήν. (τὴν Ἀσπασίαν.) But, as *Ecbatana* was far distant from

the Government of *Cyrus*, it is not all at probable that *Orontas* fled to that Temple for protection. However the *Persians* had a particular Respect for *Diana* of *Ephesus*, an Instance of which may be seen in *Thucydides*,

where we find *Tissaphernes* offering Sacrifice to that Goddeß.

Thucyd.
 8 B.

Eustathius
on Dionysius
Herodotus
Clio.
Strabo,
 14 B.
Scholiast
of Aristophanes in
Εἰρήνῃ.
Herodotus ib.
Plutarch
in Artaxerxes.

vok'd to it by any Injury, *Cyrus* continued,
 " You own then you have wrong'd me?" I
 am under a necessity of owning it, says
Orontas. Upon this *Cyrus* ask'd him again,
 " Can you yet be an Enemy to my Brother,
 " and a Friend to me?" Though I should,
 says *Orontas*, O *Cyrus* ! you will never
 think me so.

UPON this *Cyrus* said to those who
 were present, " Such are the Actions of this
 " Man, and such his Words : " Do you first,
Clearchus ! deliver your Opinion. Upon
 which *Clearchus* said thus, " My Advice is
 " that this Man be forthwith put to death, to
 " the end that we may no longer be under a
 " necessity of guarding against his Practices,
 " but have leisure, being freed¹⁰⁴ from him,
 " to do good to those who desire to be our
 " Friends." *Clearchus* said, the rest join'd in
 this Advice. After this they all rose up,
 and, together with his Relations, by *Cyrus*

F 3

Order,

¹⁰⁴ Τὸ κατὰ τῆτον εἶναι. This Addition of εἶναι
 is very common in all the Attick Writers. *Herodotus* ^{Herodotus}
 has also admitted it into his Ionick Stile ; thus he makes ^{in Poly-}
Damaratus say to *Xerxes*, Εἰκὼν γε εἶναι ἔδ' αὖ μονο- ^{hymnia.}
 μαχείοιμι : D' *Ablancourt*, I imagine, found some diffi-
 culty in this Passage, for he has left it out.

Order, took hold of ¹⁰⁵ *Orontas's* Girdle, as a Token of his being condemn'd; upon which he was led out by the proper Officers: And when those, who used to prostrate themselves before him, saw *Orontas* in this Condition, they ¹⁰⁶ even then paid him the same Veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. But after he was carried into the Tent of *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with *Cyrus* of any
of

Diod. Sic.
17 B.

¹⁰⁵ Ελάβοντο τῆς ζώνης. *Hutchinson* has shew'd, from a Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Affair of *Charidemus*, who was order'd to be put to death by *Darius*, that it was a Custom among the *Persians* to take hold of a Criminal's Girdle when they condemn'd him to die.

Herodotus
in Clio.

¹⁰⁶ Προσεκύνησαν. From hence it appears, that this Custom of Adoration was not only used by Subjects to the Kings of *Persia*, but by Subjects of an inferior Degree to those of a superior: We have the whole Ceremonial in *Herodotus*; if two *Persians* of equal Degree meet, says he, they kiss one another's Mouths; if one of them is something inferior to the other, he kisses his Cheek; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When *Alexander*, intoxicated with Success, endeavour'd to prevail with the *Macedonians* to imitate the conquer'd *Persians* in this Servility, *Calisthenes* oppos'd him to his Face with a Spirit becoming both a *Greek* and a Philosopher; by what he says to *Alexander* upon that occasion, we find that *Cyrus*, the Founder of the *Persian* Empire, was the first of all Mankind, to whom Adoration was paid, which from thence was look'd upon as a Duty from the *Medes* and *Persians* to his Successors. To this day the *Greeks* call the Compliments they send to one another προσκυνήματα, Adorations.

Arrian,
4 Book.

of his Scepter-Bearers ¹⁰⁷, no one from that time ever saw *Orontas* either ¹⁰⁸ alive or

F 4

dead,

¹⁰⁷ Σκηπτέχων. Scepters both in the ancient and modern World, are Ensigns of great Dignity. All Authors agree, that Scepters were borne by the Kings of *Persia*; upon this occasion I cannot help translating a fine Sentiment made use of by the first *Cyrus*, (or rather by our Author) in the Speech he makes to his Children; *You are sensible, says he, O Cambyfes! that this Xenophon golden Scepter is not the Support of the Empire, but Instit. of that faithful Friends are the truest and securest Scepter Cyrus, of Kings, οἶσθα μὲν ἔν κ' σὺ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι ἔ τόδε 8 B.*

τὸ χρυσεῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασωζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον κ' ἀσφαλέστατον. This Thought *Sallust* has paraphras'd *Sallust*. in the Speech of *Micipsa*. *Non exercitus, neque Theauri, Jug. War, præsidia Regni sunt, verum amici. Homer* gives all his *Il. A.*

Greek Commanders Scepters; with him a King is Σκηπτέχῳ βασιλεύς, which *Milton* has render'd *Milton* scepter'd Kings: By this Passage in *Xenophon* we find, *Par. Lost*, that *Persian* Noblemen were also distinguish'd by this ^{1 B.}

Mark of Dignity. However I look upon the Σκηπτέχοι, or Scepter-Bearers, to have been a kind of Guard attending upon the Persons of the *Persian* Kings, since we find in *Xenophon* that three hundred of them, richly dress'd, attended the first *Cyrus* upon a very solemn occasion, ἐφείποντο οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκῆπτέχοι κεκοσμημένοι—*Xenophon* ἀμφὶ τῆς τριακοσίας. *D' Ablancourt* has strangely mis- 8 B. *Instit.* taken this Passage, he supposes *Artapates* to have been of *Cyrus*. one of those, whose Duty it was to carry the Scepter of *Cyrus*; but I don't think it fair to censure him, without quoting his Words, *l'un des plus fideles serviteurs de Cyrus, d'entre ceux qui portoient son Sceptre.*

¹⁰⁸ Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόντην, ἔτε τεθνεῶτα ἄδεις πώποτε εἶδεν. *Hutchinson* has left out this Line in his Translation; when I say this, I desire not to be mistaken, I am convinc'd that his leaving it out was, owing to some accident; for he is certainly not, like some others, a shy Translator, where he meets with a difficulty.

dead, neither did any one with certainty relate how he was put to death, though various Conjectures were made about it : but no Monument was ever known to be erected for him.

FROM thence he proceeded through the Country of *Babylon*, and in three days march made twelve Parasangas. When they were arrived at the end of the third day's march, *Cyrus* review'd his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, in a Plain about Midnight, (for he expected the King would appear the next Morning, at the Head of his Army, ready to give him Battle) and gave to *Clearchus* the Command of the right Wing, and to *Menon* the *Theffalian* that of the left, while he himself drew up his own Men. After the Review, and as soon as the Day appear'd, there came Deserters from the great King, who brought *Cyrus* an account of his Army : then *Cyrus*, having called together the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks*, advis'd with them concerning the Order of Battle ; when he encourag'd them by the following Persuasions :
 “ O *Greeks* ! it is not from any want of
 “ *Barbarians*, that I make use of you as
 “ my

“ my Auxiliaries, but, because I look upon
 “ you as superior to great Numbers of
 “ them ; for that reason I have taken you
 “ also into my Service : Shew ¹⁰⁹ your-
 “ selves therefore worthy of that Liberty
 “ you enjoy, in the possession of which I
 “ think you extremely happy ; for be ¹¹⁰
 “ assur’d that I would prefer Liberty before
 “ all things I possess, with the Addition of
 “ many others. But, that you may under-
 “ stand

¹⁰⁹ Οπως ἔν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἀξιοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c.
 These Ellipses, as well in Prohibitions, as in Exhortations, are often to be met with in the best Authors, particularly the *Attick* Writers ; in the former φυλάττε, or something like it, is to be understood, and in the latter πειρώ, or something equivalent to it ; and, as ὅπως leads to the Ellipsis in Exhortations, so μήπως leads to it in Prohibitions ; a remarkable Instance of which we find in *Homer*, where *Sarpedon* says to *Hector*,

Μήπως ὡς ἀψίσι λίνα ἄλόντε πανάγρε,
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε,

Π. ε.

where, by the way, the dual Number is used for the plural, which is not uncommon.

¹¹⁰ Εὐ γὰρ ἴξε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην αὐ ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. *Cyrus* with great Judgment expresses himself with so much warmth upon the Subject of Liberty, which he knew to be the reigning Passion of the People to whom he addresses his Discourse. Whether *d' Ablancourt* found any difficulty in this Sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender Ears of his Monarch with the Harshness of it, I know not ; but so it is, that he has left out every Syllable of this Period.

“ stand what kind of Combat you are go-
 “ ing to engage in, I shall explain it to
 “ you : Their Numbers are great, and they
 “ come on with mighty Shouts, which if
 “ you can withstand, for the rest I am al-
 “ most asham’d to think what kind of Men
 “ you will find our Country produces. But
 “ you are ^{III} Soldiers ; behave yourselves
 “ with Bravery, and, if any one of you de-
 “ sires to return home, I will take care to
 “ send him back the Envy of his Country ;
 “ but I am confident that my Behaviour
 “ will

^{III} Ἀνθρώπους· ὑμῶν δὲ Ἀνδρῶν ὄντων. This Opposi-
 tion between ἀνθρωποι and ἄνδρες, is finely supported
 Herodotus in *Herodotus*, where he says, that *Leonidas*, and his
 in Poly- four thousand *Greeks*, having repuls’d the *Persians* in
 hymnia. several Attacks at *Thermopylae*, made it plain to all the
 World, that they were many Men but few Soldiers,
 δῆλον ἐποίησεν—ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ
 ἄνδρες : I am apt to think our Author had that Passage
 of *Herodotus* in his Eye upon this occasion. This Op-
 position is preserv’d in *Latin* by *homines* & *viri*, of
 which *Hutchinson* and *Leunclavius* have very properly
 taken advantage in rendring this Passage : I imagine
 d’*Ablancourt* thought his Language would not support this
 distinction, for he has left out the whole Passage : But
 I don’t see why the Opposition which his Language al-
 lows between *des Hommes* and *des Soldats*, might not
 have encourag’d him to attempt it. There is a fine
 Instance of that Opposition in a very beautiful, tho’
 a very partial Writer of his Nation, *Father d’Orleans*,
 where, speaking of the *French Army* at the ever me-
 morable Battle of *Crecy*, he says, *les François avoient*
beaucoup de Troupes & *point d’armée, grande multitude*
d’Hommes & *peu de Soldats, des Rois à leur tête, & point*
de Chefs.

“ will engage many of you rather to follow my Fortunes, than return home.”

HERE *Gaulites*, a banish'd *Samian*, a Man of Fidelity to *Cyrus*, being present, spokethus;
 “ It is said by some, O *Cyrus* ! that you promise many things now, because you are
 “ in such imminent Danger, which, upon
 “ any Success, you will not remember ; and
 “ by others, that, though you should remember your Promises, and desire to perform
 “ them, it will not be in your power.”
Cyrus hearing this, said, “ Gentlemen !
 “ my ¹¹² paternal Kingdom to the South,
 “ reaches as far as those Climates that are
 “ uninhabitable through Heat, and to the
 “ North, as far as those that are so through
 “ Cold : Every thing between is under the
 “ Govern-

¹¹² Η ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα. *Plutarch* has given us the *Plutarch*
 Substance of a most magnificent Letter, written by *in Artaxerxes*.
Cyrus, to the *Lacedæmonians*, to desire their Assistance
 against his Brother ; he there tells them, that, if the
 Men, they send him, are Foot, he will give them
 Horses ; if Horsemen, Chariots ; if they have Country
 Houses, he will give them Villages ; if Villages, Ci-
 ties ; and that they shall receive their Pay by Measure,
 not by Tale. Οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν,
 ἵππους· εἰ δὲ ἵππεις, συνωρίδας· εἰ δὲ ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι,
 κώμας· εἰ δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθὸν δὲ τοῖς στρατευο-
 μένοις ἐκ ἀριθμῶν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσσεσθαι. This Letter
 seems to be full of the same eastern Fast, with the
 Speech *Cyrus* makes to the *Greeks* upon this occasion.

“ Government of my Brother’s Friends ;
“ and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put
“ you, who are my Friends, in possession
“ of it ; so that I am under no apprehen-
“ sion, if we succeed, lest I should not have
“ enough to bestow on each of my Friends ;
“ I only fear, lest I should not have Friends
“ enow, on whom to bestow it. But to
“ each of you *Greeks*, besides what I have
“ mention’d, I promise a Crown of Gold.”
The Officers, hearing these things, espous’d
his Cause with greater Alacrity, and made
their Report to the rest. After this the
Greek Generals, and some of the private
Men came to him to know what they had
to expect, if they were victorious ; all whom
he sent away big with hopes : and all who
were admitted, advis’d him not to engage
personally, but to stand in the Rear. And
then it was that *Clearchus* put this Question
to *Cyrus* ; “ Are you of Opinion, O *Cyrus* !
“ that your Brother will hazard a Battle ?
“ Certainly, answer’d *Cyrus* : If he is the
“ Son of *Darius* and *Parysatis*, and my
“ Brother, I shall never obtain all this with-
“ out a stroke.”

WHILE

WHILE the Soldiers were accomplishing themselves for the Action, the number of the *Greeks* was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred¹¹³ heavy-arm'd Men, and two thousand four hundred Targeteers; and that of the *Barbarians* in the Service of *Cyrus*, to one hundred thousand Men, with about twenty¹¹⁴ Chariots arm'd with Sithes. The Enemy's Army was said to amount to twelve hundred thousand Men, and two hundred Chariots arm'd with Sithes: they had besides six thousand Horse, under the Command of *Artagerfes*. These were drawn up before the King. The King's Army was commanded by four Generals, Commanders and Leaders, who had each the

¹¹³ Ασπίς. Ασπίς is taken here in the same Sense *Suidas* gives it, ἡ τάξις, that is ἀσπισταί, which is very properly explain'd by the Scholiast upon these Words of *Homer*,

κρατερὰί σίχες ἀσπισάων
λαῶν,

Il. Δ.

by πεζῶν, ὀπλιτῶν, heavy-arm'd Men.

¹¹⁴ Ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα. *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropaedia*, ascribes the Invention of these Chariots arm'd with Sithes to the first *Cyrus*: though *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Ctesias*, says *Ninus* had great Numbers of them in his Expedition against the *Bactrians*: It is certain they were not in use in the *Trojan War*, for which reason *Arrian*, in his *Tactics*, opposes ἄρματα Τρωϊκά to Περσικά, as he does ψιλὰ to δρεπανηφόρα.

Xenop. in Cyropaedia, 6 B.
Diod. Sic. 2 B.
Arrian in his Tactics.

the Command of three hundred thousand Men; these were *Abrocomas*, *Tissaphernes*, *Gobryas*, and *Arbaces*. But of this Number nine hundred thousand only were present at the Battle, together with one hundred and fifty Chariots arm'd with Sithes: For *Abrocomas* coming out of *Phœnicia*, arriv'd five Days after the Action. This was the Account the Deserters gave to *Cyrus* before the Battle, which was afterwards confirm'd by the Prisoners. From thence *Cyrus*, in one day's march, made three *Parasangas*, all his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, marching in Order of Battle; because he expected the King would fight that day: for in the middle of their March there was a Trench cut five Fathom broad, and three deep. This Trench extended twelve *Parasangas* upwards, traversing the Plain as far as the Wall of *Media*. In this Plain are the ¹¹⁵ Canals deriv'd from the

¹¹⁵ Αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσιν.
 Arrian, 7 B. Arrian differs very much from our Author, in relation to these Canals; he says, that the Level of the ἀνάβροσις *Tigris* is much lower than that of the *Euphrates*, and consequently all the Canals that run from the one to the other are deriv'd from the *Euphrates*, and fall into the *Tigris*. In this he is supported by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, 16 B. who say, that in the Spring, when the Snows melt upon the Hills of *Armenia*, the *Euphrates* would over-flow the
 Hist. 5 B. the

the River *Tigris*; they are four in number, each one hundred Feet in breadth, and very deep, and Barges laden with Corn sail in them: These Canals fall into the *Euphrates*; they are distant from one another one Parasanga, and have Bridges over them.

CLOSE to the *Euphrates*, there was a narrow Pass, between the River and the Trench, about twenty Feet in breadth. This Trench the great King, as soon as he heard *Cyrus* was marching against him, caus'd to be made by way of Fortification; through this Pass *Cyrus* and his Army march'd, and were now within the Trench. That day the King did not engage, but many Tracks appear'd both of Horses and Men that retreated. Here *Cyrus*, sending for *Silanus*, the Soothsayer of *Ambracia*, gave him three thousand Daricks, because the eleventh Day before that, when he was offering Sacrifice, he told *Cyrus* that the King would not fight within ten Days: Upon which *Cyrus* said, " If he does not fight within ten Days, " he

the adjacent Country, if the Inhabitants did not cut great numbers of Canals to receive and circulate this Increase of Water, in the same manner as the *Egyptians* distribute that of the *Nile*.

“ he will not fight at all : And, if what you
 “ say proves true, I’ll give you ¹¹⁶ ten Ta-
 “ lents ;” which Sum, the ten Days being
 expir’d, he then paid him. Since therefore
 the King had suffer’d the Army of *Cyrus* to
 march through this Pass unmolested, both
Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had
 given over all Thoughts of fighting : so
 that the next day *Cyrus* march’d with less
 Circumspection ; and the third day he rode
 on his Car, very few marching before him
 in their Ranks ; great part of the Soldiers
 observ’d no Order, many of their Arms
 being carried in Waggon, and upon sump-
 ter Horses.

It was now about the time of Day,
¹¹⁷ when the Market is usually crouded, the
 Army

¹¹⁶ Δέκα τάλαντα. By this it appears, as *Hutchin-
 son* has observ’d, that three thousand Daricks, and ten
 Talents, were of equal Value. See the 11th Annota-
 tion.

¹¹⁷ Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθυσαν. It is very common
 with the *Greek* Authors to denote the time of the
 Day by the Employment of it : Thus περὶ λύχνων
 ἀφ᾽ ἧς is often used by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to
 signify the Evening, and ἀμφὶ πλήθυσαν ἀγορὰν,
 as *Kuster* has prov’d in his Notes upon *Suidas*, what
 they called the third Hour, that is, nine a Clock
 with us. Possibly πλήθυσαν ἀγορὰν may not impro-
 perly be render’d in *English* Full Change. There is

Army being near the place, where they propos'd to encamp, when *Patagyas*, a *Persian*, one of those whom *Cyrus* most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his Horse all in a Sweat, and immediately called to every one he met, both in his own Language, and in *Greek*, that the King was at hand with a vast Army, marching in Order of Battle. Upon this there was great Confusion, the *Greeks* and all the rest expecting he would charge them, before they had put themselves in Order: And *Cyrus* leaping from his Car, put on his Corset, then mounting his Horse, took his Javelins in his Hand, and order'd all the rest to arm, and every Man to take his Post: They quickly form'd themselves, *Clearchus* on the right Wing, close to the *Euphrates*, and next to him *Proxenus*, and after him the rest: *Menon* and his Men were posted

a very particular Description of the Evening in the *Odyssey*, where *Ulysses* says he hung upon the wild Fig-Tree, 'till *Charybdis* had cast up his Raft, which appear'd at the time, when the Judge left the Bench, to go to Supper,

— Ἡμῶ δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη,
Κοίωνων νεῖκεα πολλὰ δικάζομένων αἰζηῶν,
Τῆμ' δὴ τάγε δῶρα Χαρυβδιῶ ἐξεφάνθη.

Odyss. M.

posted upon the left of the *Greek Army*. Of the *Barbarians*, a thousand *Paphlagonian* Horse, with the *Greek* Targeteers, stood next to *Clearchus* on the right. Upon the left *Ariæus*, *Cyrus* Lieutenant-General, was plac'd with the rest of the *Barbarians*. *Cyrus* put himself in the Center with six hundred Horse: they had large Corsets, and Cuissees, and all of them Helmets, but *Cyrus*, who stood ready for the Charge, with his Head unarm'd; ¹¹⁸ they say it is also cus-

tomary

¹¹⁸ Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this, unless he design'd that *selon la coutume des Perses* should be taken for a Translation of it. I have said that *Cyrus stood ready for the Charge with his Head unarm'd*, and not bare, in which I have differ'd from all the Translators, but am supported by *Brissenius*, who in his third Book *de Regno Persarum*, from whom *Hutchinson* has taken his whole Annotation upon this Passage, is of opinion, which

Herodotus he proves from *Herodotus*, that, both *Cyrus*, and the rest of the *Persians*, though they had no Helmets in a *Terpfi-chore* and Day of Battle, wore however *Tiaras* upon their Heads. This is confirm'd by *Plutarch*, who says, that in this Battle the *Tiara* of *Cyrus* fell from his Head. Besides, *ψιλῶς*, which is the Word our Author uses upon this occasion, has a visible relation to what goes before; after he has said therefore that the six hundred Horse had all Helmets but *Cyrus*, when he adds that he had *ψιλῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν*, he does not mean that he stood with his Head bare, but that he had no Helmet; in the same manner, when *Arrian* calls the light-arm'd Men *ψιλῶς*, he does not mean that they were naked, but that they had neither Corsets, Shields, Greaves,

or

tomary for the rest of the *Persians* to expose themselves in a day of Action in the same manner: All the Horses in *Cyrus* Army had both Frontlets and Breast-plates, and the Horsemen *Greek* Swords.

It was now the middle of the Day, and no Enemy was yet to be seen. ¹¹⁹ In the Afternoon there appear'd a Dust like a white Cloud, which not long after spread itself like a Darkness over the Plain; when they drew nearer, immediately the brazen Armour flash'd, and their Spears and Ranks appear'd: The Enemy had on their left a Body of Horse arm'd in white Corslets (these were said to be commanded by *Tissaphernes*) next came those with ¹²⁰ *Persian* Bucklers, and

or Helmets, which the Reader will see in his own Words in the 5th Annotation.

¹¹⁹ Ηνίκα δὲ δαίλη ἐγένετο. *Hutchinson* quotes upon this occasion a Passage out of *Dio Chrysostomus*, in which he divides the Day into five parts; 1. πρωί. 2. πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν. 3. τὰς μεσημβρίας. 4. δαίλην. 5. ἑσπέραν; this Division of the Day perfectly agrees with that of *Xenophon*; and, as πλήθυσαν ἀγοράν is the middle Hour between the Morning and Noon, so δαίλη will be the middle Hour between that and the Evening, that is, three a-clock. DioChryf. περὶ δόξης.

¹²⁰ Γερρόφοροι. Περσικὰ μὲν τινα ὄπλα τὰ γέρρα ἐστὶ. *Harpocration*. This kind of Buckler is also mention'd by *Homer* in the following Verse,

and next to them heavy-arm'd Men with wooden Shields, reaching down to their Feet; (these were said to be *Egyptians*;) then other Horse, and other Archers. All these marched ¹²¹ according to their respective Countries, each Nation being drawn up in a ¹²² solid oblong Square: And before them were dispos'd the Chariots arm'd with Sithes, at a considerable distance from one another. These Chariots had Sithes fix'd asslant at the Axle-Trees, with others under the ¹²³ Body of the Chariot, pointing

Homer
Odyss. χ.

Τῇ δ' ἐτέρῃ σάκῃ ἐνρὺ, γέρον πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη.

where *Eustathius* explains Γέρρα by ἄσπιδες Περσικαὶ ἐκ λύγων, *Persian* Bucklers made of Wickers.

Herodotus
in Poly-
hymnia.

¹²¹ Κατὰ ἔθνη.

This seems to have been customary among the *Persians*; for we find in *Herodotus*, that, in the prodigious Army, with which *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, each Nation was drawn up by itself, κατὰ ἔθνηα διετάσσοντο.

¹²² Ἐν πλαισίῳ.

As πλαίσιον and πλινθίων are Dispositions often mention'd by *Xenophon*, and other *Greek* Authors, it may not be amiss to shew the difference between them. They are thus defin'd by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*, πλαίσιον ὀνομάζεται, ὁπόταν πρὸς πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς παρατάξηται τις ἐν ἑτερομήκει σχήματι· πλινθίων δὲ, ὅταν ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι αὐτὸ τὸτο πράξη, (rather πραχθῇ;) so that πλαίσιον is an oblong Square, and πλινθίων an equilateral Square: Had *d'Ablancourt* attended to this, he would not have translated ἐν πλαισίῳ, avec autant de Front que de Heauteur.

¹²³ Ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφοροις.

The Grammarians derive δίφορος from δίφορος, because both the ἡνίοχος, the Charioteer,

pointing downwards, that so they might cut
 asunder every thing they encounter'd. The
 Design of these Chariots was, by driving them
 among the Ranks of the *Greeks*, to break
 them. It now appear'd that *Cyrus*, when he
 exhorted the *Greeks* to withstand the Shouts
 of the *Barbarians*, was mistaken; for they
 did not come on with Shouts, but as si-
 lently and quietly as possible, and in an
 equal and slow march. Here *Cyrus*, riding
 along the Ranks with *Pigres* the Interpre-
 ter, and three or four others, called to
Clearchus to bring his Men over-against
 the Center of the Enemy, because the King
 was there: And if we break that, says he,
 our Work is done. But *Clearchus* observ-
 ing their Center, and understanding from
Cyrus that the King was beyond the left
 Wing of the *Greek* Army, (for the King
 was so much superior in number, that, when
 he stood in the Center of his own Army,
 he was beyond the left Wing of that of
Cyrus) *Clearchus*, I say, would not how-
 ever be prevail'd on to withdraw his right
 from the River, fearing to be surrounded

G 3

on

Charioteer, and the *παραβύτης*, the Soldier, sate in
 the body of the Chariot. This Hint may be of use to
 History-Painters, who oftentimes place the Charioteer
 upon a Seat by himself, in the modern way.

on both sides ; but answer'd *Cyrus*, He would take care that all should go well.

Now the *Barbarians* came regularly on ; and the *Greek Army* standing on the same Ground, the Ranks were form'd, as the Men came up. In the mean time *Cyrus*, riding at a small distance before the Ranks, survey'd both the Enemy's Army and his own : Whom *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, observing from the *Greek Army*, he rode up to him, and ask'd him, whether he had any thing to command ; *Cyrus*, stopping his Horse, order'd him to let them all know, that the ¹²⁴ Sacrifices and Victims promis'd success. While he was saying this, he heard a Noise running through the Ranks, and ask'd him what Noise it was : *Xenophon* answer'd, that the Word was now giving for the second time ; *Cyrus* wonder'd who should give it, and ask'd him what the Word was ; the other replied, ¹²⁵ *Jupiter the Preserver*, and

Victory :

¹²⁴ Τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια. The last of these properly signifies Victims, though I am sensible the first is sometimes taken also for ἱερεῖα ; but in this place I should rather think it means some religious Rites, upon which Conjectures were form'd of future Events.

Dion Caf- ¹²⁵ Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ καὶ Νίκη. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that
sius, 47 B. at the Battle of *Philippi*, *Brutus* Word was Ἐλευθερία,
Libertas ;

Victory : Which *Cyrus* hearing, said, I accept it, let That be the Word. After he had said this, he return'd to his Post. The two Armies were now within three or four Stadia of each other, when ¹²⁶ the *Greeks* sung the Pæan, and began to advance against the Enemy : As this Motion occasion'd a small ¹²⁷ Fluctuation in the Line of Battle, those who were left behind, hasten'd their march, and at once they gave a general ¹²⁸ Shout, as their Custom is when they invoke the God of War, and all ran on. Some say they struck their Shields with their Pikes to frighten the Enemy's Horses, But

G 4

the

Libertas ; at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar's* Word was *Αφροδίτη νικήσατα*, *Venus victrix* ; and that of *Pompey*, *Ηρακλῆς ἀνίκητος*, *Hercules invictus*.

¹²⁶ *Επαιάνιζον οἱ Ἕλληνες*. *Achilles*, after he has slain *Heëtor*, says thus to his Men, in *Homer*,

Νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰδόντες Παιήονα, κῆροι Ἀχαιῶν,
Νηῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα——

Homer
Il. χ.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiast observes, that, the Ancients sung two Pæans ; the first before the Battle, to *Mars* ; and the second after it, to *Apollo*.

¹²⁷ *Εξεκύναινε τι τῆς φάλαγγος*. This Expression is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus*, as an Instance of the Beauty which Metaphors give, when they descend from greater things to smaller. Sect. 85.

¹²⁸ *Ελελίζεσι. Ελελεῦ, ἐπιφώνημα πολεμικόν.* *Hesychius*. From thence comes *ἐλελίζω*. I am at a loss to guess what *d'Ablancourt* means by translating this, *comme on fait dans les solennitez de Mars*.

the *Barbarians*, before they came within the reach of their Darts, turn'd their Horses and fled, and the *Greeks* pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their Ranks. Here some of the Chariots were born through their own People without their Charioteers, others through the *Greeks*, some of whom seeing them coming, ¹²⁹ divided; while others being amaz'd, like Spectators

¹²⁹ Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προΐδοντες, ἴσ-αυτο. *Hutchinson* has employed his whole Annotation upon this Passage in shewing, that οἱ δὲ in this place signifies τῶς, which to be sure is so; but he has said nothing of a much greater difficulty that occurs in it: If we are to read ἴσ-αυτο in this place, as all the Translators have render'd it, the Sense will be, that, when the *Greeks* saw the Chariots coming towards them, they stood still, which sure was not the way to avoid them. I find in *Leunclavius* Edition the word δις-αυτο in the Margin, and also in the *Eton* Manuscript, quoted by *Hutchinson* in his Addenda, though neither of them have followed it in their Translations, or said any thing to support it: However, I make no doubt but this is the proper Reading, and then the Sense will be very plain; the *Greeks* avoided the Chariots, by dividing. This is confirm'd by a Passage in *Arrian*, which fully explains that before us. At the Battle of *Arbela*, or, as he will have it, of *Gaugamela*, *Darius* had plac'd before his left Wing one hundred of these Chariots arm'd with Sithes, which prov'd of no greater effect than those of *Artaxerxes*; for *Alexander*, who was upon the right of his own Army, and consequently opposite to the Chariots, had order'd his Men to divide, when they saw them coming, which they did accordingly, and by

Arrian,

3 B.

Exp. Alex.

Spectators in the ¹³⁰ Hippodrome, were taken unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other *Greek* hurt in the Action, except one upon the left Wing, who was said to have been wounded by an Arrow,

CYRUS seeing the *Greeks* victorious on their side, and in pursuit of the Enemy, rejoic'd, and was already worshipp'd as King by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his Post, and join in the Pursuit; but, keeping his six hundred Horse in a Body, he observ'd the King's Motions; well knowing that he was in

by that means render'd them ineffectual. But the Words of *Arrian* are the best Comment upon this Passage, which it is probable he had in view, *ἔστι δὲ αὖ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων. διέσχον γὰρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα.*

¹³⁰ *Εν ἵπποδρόμῳ.* This Word is used also by *Homer*, to signify the Place where the Chariots ran, the Lifts.

— *λεῖψεν δ' ἵπποδρόμον ἀμφίς.*

II. ↓

At the Battle of *Thurium*, where *Sylla* defeated *Archelaus*, one of the Generals of *Mithridates*, the Roman Soldiers treated these Chariots arm'd with Sithes, with so great Contempt, that, after the first that were sent against them had prov'd ineffectual, as if they had been Spectators of a Chariot-Race, they called out for more, *ἀλλὰ ἦσαν*, as *Plutarch* says, *ὥσπερ ἐώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις.* Plutarch
in Sylla.

in the Center of the *Persian* Army : ²³¹ for in all *Barbarian* Armies, the Generals ever place themselves in the Center, looking upon that Post as the safest, on each side of which their Strength is equally divided, and, if they have occasion to give out any Orders, these are receiv'd in half the time by the Army. The King therefore being at that time in the Center of his own Battle, was however beyond the left Wing of *Cyrus* ; and, when he saw none oppos'd him in front, nor any Motion made to charge the Troops that were drawn up before him, he wheel'd to the left, in order to surround their Army. Upon this *Cyrus*, fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the *Greeks*, advanc'd against the King, and charging with his six hundred Horse, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand Men to flight, and, as they say, killed with his own Hand *Artagerfes* their Commander.

THESE

²³¹ Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρχόντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἦσαν. Thus *Arrian* tells us, that *Darius* plac'd himself in the Center of his Army at the Battle of *Issus*, according to the Custom of the Kings of *Persia* ; the reason of which Custom, he says, *Xenophon* assigns in the Passage now before us.

Arrian 2
B. Exp.
Alex.

THESE being broken, the six hundred also belonging to *Cyrus* dispers'd themselves in the Pursuit, very few being left about him, and those almost all Persons who used to eat at his Table; being accompanied with these, he ¹³² discovers the King, and those about him, and, unable to contain himself, immediately cried out, I see the Man; then ran furiously at him, and, striking him on the Breast, wounded him through his Corslet, as *Ctesias* the Physician says, who affirms that he cur'd the Wound. While he was giving the Blow, somebody threw a Javelin at him with great force, and wounded him

under

¹³² I cannot help translating a very fine Passage in *Plutarch* in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, where he excuses himself for not entering into the Detail of this Battle, because *Xenophon* had already describ'd it in so masterly a Style, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him; he says, that many Authors have given an Account of this memorable Action, but that *Xenophon* almost shews it, and, by the Clearness of his Expression, makes his Reader assist with Emotion at every Incident, and partake of every Danger, as if the Action was not past, but present: However, that I may neither rob *Xenophon* of the Praise *Plutarch* gives him, or *Plutarch* of his manner of giving it, I shall transcribe the whole Passage, τῇ δὲ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ, says *Plutarch*, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονοῦ καὶ δεικνύοντος ὅψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἔγεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινόμενοις, ἐφίσταντος τοῦ ἀκροατῆς ἐν πάθει, καὶ συκινδυνεύοντα, διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἣν ἔστι νῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγου. The same Author calls the Place where this Battle was fought *Cunaxa*.

under the Eye: and now the King and *Cyrus* engag'd hand to hand, and those about them, in defence of each. In this Action *Ctesias*, (who was with the King) informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, *Cyrus* himself was killed, and eight the most considerable of his Friends ¹³³ lay dead upon him. When *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with him of any of his scepter'd Ministers, saw *Cyrus* fall, they say, he leap'd from his Horse, and threw himself about him: some say, the King order'd *Artapates* to be slain upon the Body of *Cyrus*; others, that, drawing his Scimitar, he slew himself: for, he wore a golden Scimitar, a Chain, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, which are worn by the most considerable *Persians*; and was held in great esteem by *Cyrus*, both for his Affection and Fidelity.

THUS died *Cyrus*, a Man universally acknowledged by those who were well acquainted

¹³³ ΕΧΕΙΝΤΟ ΕΝ' ΑΥΤΩ. I am so much pleas'd with the reason d'Ablancourt gives for not translating these Words, that I must mention it; he says *le Grec dit, qui se firent tous tuer sur lui, mais cela est répété ensuite dans son Eloge, & j'avois besoin de cette Expression là dix lignes après.* There is a Frankness in this Acknowledgement that has more merit in it, than the best Translation,

quainted with him, to have been, of all the *Persians* since the ancient *Cyrus*, indued with the most princely Qualities, and the most worthy of Empire. First, while he was yet a Child, and educated with his Brother, and other Children, he was look'd upon as superior to them All in all things: For all the Children of the great Men in *Persia* are brought up ¹³⁴ at Court, where they have an opportunity of learning great Modesty, and where nothing dishonest is ever heard or seen. There the Children have constantly before their Eyes, those who are honour'd and disgrac'd by the King, and hear the Reasons of both: So that, while they are Children, they presently learn to command, as well as to obey. Here *Cyrus* was observ'd to have more Docility than any of his Years, and to shew more Submission to those of an advanc'd Age, than any other Children, though of a Condition inferior to his own; he was also observ'd to excel not only in his Love of Horses, but in his Management of them; and in those Exercises that relate to War, such as Archery and lancing of Darts, they found

¹³⁴ Εν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται. Litterally at the Door of the King, concerning which, see the 29th Annotation.

found him the most desirous to learn, and the most indefatigable. When in the Flower of his Age ; he was, of all others, the fondest of Hunting, and in hunting, of Danger : And once, when a Bear rush'd upon him, he did not decline the Encounter, but clos'd with her, and was torn from his Horse, when he receiv'd those Wounds, of which he ever after wore the Scars ; at last he kill'd the Bear, and the Person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy Man in the eyes of all that knew him.

WHEN he was sent by his Father Governor of *Lydia*, the greater *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, and was declar'd General of all those who are oblig'd to assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he enter'd into a League, engag'd in a Contract, or made a Promise, his greatest Care was never to deceive. For which reason both the Cities that belong'd to his Government, and private Men, plac'd a Confidence in him : And, if any one had been his Enemy, and *Cyrus* had made Peace with him, he was under no apprehension of suffering by a Violation of it : So that, when he made war against *Tissaphernes*, all the

the Cities, besides *Miletus*, willingly declar'd for him : And these were afraid of him, because he would not desert their banish'd Citizens ; for he shewed by his Actions, as well as his Words, that, after he had once given them assurance of his Friendship, he would never abandon them, though their Number should yet diminish, and their Condition be yet impair'd. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to out-do his Friends in good, and his Enemies in ill Offices ; and it was reported that he wish'd to live so long, as to be able to overcome them both, in ¹³⁵ returning both. There was no one Man therefore of our Time, to whom such numbers of People were ambitious of delivering up their Fortunes, their Cities, and their Persons.

NEITHER can it be said that he suffer'd Malefactors and Robbers to triumph ;
for

¹³⁵ Αλεξόμεν. It is to be observ'd that ἀλέξασθαι, in this place, signifies both to reward and to revenge: both which Significations this Word admits of. Αλέξεις, βοήθεια καὶ ἀντίτισις. *Hesychius*. Αμύνεσθαι is used in the same manner by *Thucydides*, where *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* Thucydides 4 B. tells the Inhabitants of *Sicily*, τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα εἶσι ἀρετῇ ἀμυνόμεθα, where ἀμυνόμεθα is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν σημασιῶν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ καλῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ κακῶ.

for to these he was, of all Men, the most inexorable : It was no uncommon thing to see such Men in the great Roads depriv'd of their Feet, their Hands, and their Eyes ; so that any Person, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, might travel whithersoever he pleas'd, and with whatsoever he pleas'd, through the Country under his Command, and provided he did no Injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honour'd, in a particular manner, those who distinguish'd themselves in Arms : His first Expedition was against the *Pisidians* and *Mysians* ; in this he commanded in Person, and those whom he observ'd forward to expose themselves, he appointed Governours over the conquer'd Countries, and distinguish'd them by other Presents : So that ¹³⁶ brave Men were look'd upon as most fortunate, and Cowards as deserving to be their Slaves : for which reason great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they

¹³⁶ Ως-ε φαίνεσθαι τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς, εὐδαιμονεσ-άτας, τὰς δὲ κακὰς, δόλους τέτων ἀξιῶσθαι. *D'Ablandcourt* has not taken the least notice of these Lines in his Translation ; if the Reader will give himself the trouble of comparing his Version with the Original in this Character of *Cyrus*, he will find very many Omissions, as well as strange Liberties.

they expected *Cyrus* would take notice of them.

As for Justice, if any Person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was that such a one should enjoy a greater Affluence than those, who aim'd at raising their Fortunes by unjust means. Among many other Instances therefore of the Justice of his Administration, this was one, that he had an Army which truly deserved that Name, for the Officers did not come to him from Countries on the other side of the Sea, for Gain, but, because they were sensible that a ready Obedience to *Cyrus* Commands was of greater Advantage to them, than their monthly Pay : And indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his Orders, he never suffer'd his Diligence to go unrewarded. For this reason, it is said that *Cyrus* was the best serv'd of any Prince in all his Enterprizes. If he observ'd any Governour of a Province joining the most exact Oeconomy with Justice, improving his Country, and encreasing his Revenue, he never took any share of these Advantages to himself, but added more to them. So that they labour'd

with Chearfulness, enrich'd themselves with Confidence, and never conceal'd their Possessions from *Cyrus*: For he was never known to envy those who own'd themselves to be rich; but endeavour'd to make use of the Riches of all who conceal'd them. It is universally acknowledged, that he possess'd, in an eminent degree, the Art of cultivating those of his Friends, whose Good-will to him he was assur'd of, and whom he look'd upon as proper Instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he propos'd: And, as he thought he stood in need of his Friends to assist him in the execution of his Designs, for that reason, he endeavour'd to shew himself a most powerful Assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, upon many accounts, he receiv'd, in my opinion, more Presents than any one Man, so, of all Men living, he distributed them to his Friends, with the greatest Generosity, and in this Distribution consulted both the Taste, and the Wants of every one. And, as for those Ornaments of his Person that were presented to him, either as of use in War, or Embellishments to Dress, he is
said

said to have express'd this Sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he look'd upon a Prince's Friends, when richly dress'd, as his greatest Ornament. However, it is not so much to be wonder'd at, that, being of greater Ability than his Friends, he should out-do them in the Magnificence of his Favours; but, that he should surpass them in his Care and his Earnestness to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of Admiration. For *Cyrus* frequently sent his Friends small¹³⁷ Vessels half full of Wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know, that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; for which reason he sends it to you, and desires you will drink it out to-day, with those you love best. He also frequently sent them half Geese, and half Loaves, and such other things, ordering the Person who carried them to say, *Cyrus* lik'd these things, for this reason he desires you also to taste of them. Where Forage was very scarce, and he, by the Number and Care of his Servants, had an opportunity of being supplied

H 2

with

¹³⁷ Βίνας. Βίνος, σάμνον ὡς ἔχων. *Hesychius*.
It was a Wine Vessel.

with it, he sent to his Friends, to desire they would give the Horses, that were for their own riding, their share of it, to the end they might not be oppress'd with Hunger, when they carried his Friends. When he appear'd in publick upon any occasion, where he knew many People would have their Eyes upon him, he used to call his Friends to him, and affected to discourse¹³⁸ earnestly with them, that he might shew whom he honour'd. So that by all I have heard, no Man, either of the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*,

¹³⁸ Εσπεδαίολογείτο. *Hutchinson* has render'd this *gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat*, which is, no doubt, the general Sense of the *Greek* Word, but does not, in my Opinion, explain that which our Author has given it in this place. The Subject of the Discourse between *Cyrus* and his Friends, was of little consequence to let the Spectators know how much he honour'd them, his manner of conversing with them could only do that; and, as *εσπεδή* signifies Earnestness in the manner of speaking, as well as the Seriousness of the Subject, I thought proper to give it that Sense in the Translation. This puts me in mind of a practice of some Persons of Quality in *Scotland*, when King *Charles* the First made a Progress thither; my Lord *Clarendon* says, that, in order to render themselves considerable in the Eyes of their Countrymen, they used to whisper the King, when he appear'd in Publick, though the Subject of those Whispers was often of very little consequence. I have known some Men of Gallantry so happy in this practice, that, upon no other foundation than the Art of whispering Trifles, they have been thought to be well with Women of Distinction, which possibly was all they aim'd at.

barians, was ever more belov'd : Of which this, among others, is a remarkable Instance : No one ever deserted from *Cyrus*, though a Subject, to the King ; *Orontas* alone attempted it, ¹³⁹ and he soon found, that the Person on whose Fidelity he depended, was more a Friend to *Cyrus* than to him. But many came over to *Cyrus* from the King, after the War broke out between them, and these were Persons who had been most in favour with him, and who came with this Expectation, that in the Service of *Cyrus* their Merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the King. What happen'd also to him at his Death, made it evident, that he was not only himself a good Man, but that he knew how to make choice of those, who were faithful, affectionate, and constant : for, when he was killed, all his Friends and his ¹⁴⁰ Favourites died fighting for him, besides *Ariaeus*, and he being appointed to the Command of the

H 3

Horſe

¹³⁹ ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ, &c. The *Latin* Translators have render'd this Parenthesis, as if ὅτι related to the King, for which I think there is no foundation : I have understood it of *Orontas*, who entrusted a Person, in whom he thought he might confide, with his Letter to the King, but soon found to his Cost, that he was more attach'd to *Cyrus*, than to him.

¹⁴⁰ ΣΥΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΙ. Properly those who eat at his Table.

Horse on the left Wing, as soon as he heard that *Cyrus* was kill'd, fled with all that Body which was under his Command.

WHEN *Cyrus* was dead, his Head and right Hand were cut off upon the spot, and the King, with his Men, in the Pursuit, broke into his Camp; while those with *Ariaeus*, no longer made a stand, but fled through their own Camp to their former Post, which was said to be four *Parasangas* from the Field of Battle. The King, with his Forces, among many other things, took *Cyrus* Mistress, a ¹⁴¹ *Phocæan*, who

was

Plutarch,
Lives of
Pericles
and Artaxerxes.

¹⁴¹ Τὴν Φωκαίδα. As this favourite Mistress of *Cyrus* was afterwards very near being the Cause of a Revolution in the *Persian* Empire, it may not be amiss to give some Account of her. She was of *Phocæa* in *Ionia*, (the Mother-City of *Marseilles*;) and the Daughter of *Hermotymus*, her Name *Ἰστίο*; she was Mistress of so much Wit and Beauty, that *Cyrus*, who was very fond of her, called her *Aspasia*, from *Aspasia*, the Mistress of the great *Pericles*, who was so much celebrated for those Accomplishments. After the Death of *Cyrus*, she was in the same degree of favour with his Brother *Artaxerxes*, whose eldest Son *Darius* had so unfortunate a Passion for her, that, upon his being declar'd by his Father Successor to the Crown, when, it seems, it was customary for the Successor to ask some Favour of the King, which was never refus'd, if possible to be granted, he demanded *Aspasia*: The King, though besides his Wife *Atossa*, he had three hundred and sixty Ladies in his Seraglio, one for every Night, according to the old *Babylonian* Year, yet was unwilling to

was said to be a Woman of great Sense and Beauty. The other, a *Milesian*, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the King's Troops, but escap'd naked to the Quarter of the *Greeks*, who were left to guard the Baggage. These, forming themselves, kill'd many of those who were plundering the Camp, and lost some of their own Men; however, they did not fly, but sav'd the *Milesian*, with the Men and Effects, and, in general, every thing else that was in their Quarter. By this time

H 4

the

to part with *Aspasia*, though she was now far from being young; so told his Son that she was Mistress of herself, and, if she consented to be his, he should not oppose it, but forbid him to use Violence. It seems this Caution was unnecessary, for *Aspasia* declar'd in favour of the Son, which so displeas'd *Artaxerxes*, that, though he was under a necessity of yielding her to *Darius*, yet he shortly after took her from him, and made her a Priestess of *Diana*. This exasperated *Darius* to that Plutarch degree, that he conspir'd with *Tiribazus* to put his in Artaxerxes. Father to death; but his Design, being discover'd, ended in his own Destruction. After this short Account of *Aspasia*'s Adventures, I believe the Reader will smile to find her call'd *la Belle* and *la Sage* by *d' Ablancourt*: She was the occasion of so much mischief, that I am persuaded even the *Persian* Ladies could not refuse her the first of these Qualities; but there is little room to call her *chaste*, for that is the Sense of the word *Sage* in his Language when applied to a Woman: Had *Xenophon* design'd to give her that Character, he would have called her *σωφρονα*, instead of *σοφὴν*: the last of which I should think might be more properly translated in *French* by *Sensee* than *Sage*.

the King and the *Greeks* were at the distance of about thirty Stadia from one another, these pursuing the Enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gain'd a compleat Victory; and the King's Troops plundering the Camp of the *Greeks*, as if they also had been every where victorious. But, when the *Greeks* were inform'd, that the King, with his Men, was among their Baggage, and the King, on his side, heard from *Tissaphernes*, that the *Greeks* had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the Pursuit, he then rallied his Forces, and put them in order. On the other side, *Clearchus* consulted with *Proxenus*, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a Detachment, or should all march to relieve the Camp.

IN the mean time the King was observ'd to move forward again, and seem'd resolv'd to fall upon their Rear; upon which the *Greeks*¹⁴² faced about, and put themselves in

¹⁴² Συσπαφέντες. I am sorry I find myself oblig'd to differ from *Hutchinson* in translating this. I agree with him that *conglobati*, the Sense he has given of it, is the general Sense of the Word, as he has prov'd from *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus*; as for those synonymous Words he has quoted from *Julius Pellux*, I do not look

a posture to march that way, and receive him. However, the King did not advance that way: But, as before, he pass'd ¹⁴³ beyond their

look upon them to concern the present case, since they relate only to the Contraction of the human Body, as the Title of that Chapter plainly shews, Περὶ τῆς συσ- Julius Pol. τρέψαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀπλωσαι. But, in order to form 5 B. 168 a right Judgment of the Sense of this Word in this Segm. place, we are to consider the Situation of the two Armies; the *Greeks*, after they had broken that part of the Enemy's Army that stood opposite to them, were engag'd in pursuing them; and the King, having plunder'd *Cyrus* Camp, followed the *Greeks*, in order to fall upon their Rear, προσιών ὀπισθεν; these, seeing this Motion of the King, fac'd about to meet him. Now I believe it will be allowed, that it was not enough for the *Greeks* (though they had been dispers'd, which we do not find) to get together in a body, in order to meet the King, who was following them; I say, I believe it will be thought that it was also necessary for them to face about, in order to put themselves in a proper Posture to receive him. This Motion of facing about to receive the Enemy, is often described by this Verse in *Homer*,

Οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν, καὶ ἐναντίοι ἔσαν ἀχαιῶν.

Homer II.

Which the *Greek* Scholiast explains by the very Word made use of by our Author in this place, συνεστράφησαν, μεταβαλλόμενοι εἰλήθησαν. It is with pleasure I lay hold of this opportunity of doing justice to d' *Ab-lancourt*, who has said, I think, in a very proper and military manner, *les Grecs firent la Conversion pour l'aller recevoir*; cela s'appelle parler guerre. *Leunclavius* has also given it the same Sense.

¹⁴³ Η δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς εὐωνύμης κέρατος. *Xenophon* considers the *Greek* Army as it stood when the Battle began, otherwise after they had fac'd about, their left Wing was become their right. This d' *Ab-lancourt* has observ'd, but *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* take no notice of it.

their left Wing, so now he led his Men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the *Greeks* during the Action, and also *Tissaphernes* with his Forces: for *Tissaphernes* did not fly at the first Onset, but penetrated with his Horse, where the *Greek* Targeteers were posted, quite as far as the River: However, in breaking through, he killed none of their Men, but the *Greeks* ¹⁴⁴ dividing, wounded his People both with their Swords and Darts. *Episthenes* of *Amphipolis* commanded the Targeteers, and is reported to have shewn great Conduct upon this occasion. *Tissaphernes* therefore, as sensible of his Disadvantage, departed, then, coming to the Camp of the *Greeks*, he found the King there, and reuniting their Forces, they advanc'd. When they came opposite to the left of the *Greeks*, these were afraid they should attack their Wing, and, by wheeling to the right and left, annoy them on both sides; to avoid which, they resolv'd to open that Wing, and cover the Rear with the River. While they

¹⁴⁴ Διασάφτες. This is the Word contended for in the 129th Annotation. The Motion made by the *Greeks* to let *Tissaphernes* and his Men pass through their Body upon this occasion, is the same they then made to let the Chariots pass through them.

they were consulting upon this, the King
¹⁴⁵ march'd by them, and drew up his Army
opposite to theirs, in the same Order in which
he first engag'd. When the *Greeks* saw
them draw near in Order of Battle, they
again sung the Pæan, and went on with
much more Alacrity than before. How-
ever, the *Barbarians* did not stay to receive
them, but fled sooner than the first time :
and the *Greeks* pursued them to a Village.
There they halted ; for there was an Emi-
nence above the Village, upon which the
King's Forces fac'd about. He had no Foot
with

¹⁴⁵ Παραμειψάμεν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέσ-
τησεν ἐναντιὰν τὴν Φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ, &c. I have trans-
lated this Passage, as if there was a Comma after
παραμειψάμεν, which I have render'd *marching by*
them, a Signification very common to the Word ; for
Xenophon does not say that the *Greeks* did actually
open their Wing ; but that, while they were consult-
ing about doing so, the King drew up his Army against
theirs, upon which the *Greeks* advanc'd to attack him ;
this I do not understand how they could well do,
while the Enemy was upon their Flank ; but, if we
suppose the King march'd by them, and drew up upon
the same Ground, and in the same Disposition in which
he first came on, we may easily understand how the
Greeks, by facing about again, might put themselves
again in a Posture to attack him : And this seems to
agree very well with their pursuing the King's Troops
to a Village, which Pursuit led them to some distance
from their Camp, since they made it a matter of Con-
sultation whether they should send for their Baggage,
or return thither.

with him, but the Hill was cover'd with Horse in such a manner, that it was not possible for the *Greeks* to see what was doing: However, they said they saw the royal Ensign there, which was a ¹⁴⁶ golden Eagle with

its

¹⁴⁶ Αἰτόν τινα χρυσεὺν ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον. I think *Hutchinson* has been very happy in substituting ξυστῇ to ξύλα, but then I do not see what ἐπὶ πέλτης has to do here, unless it is suppos'd to signify a Shield upon which the Eagle rested; however, I cannot think *Xenophon* said αἰτόν ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυστῇ ἀνατεταμένον, and, if ἐπὶ πέλτης is to be chang'd into ἐπὶ παλτῇ, as *Leunclavius* will have it, it will then be visibly a marginal Explanation of ἐπὶ ξυστῇ. *Xenophon*, in his Institution of *Cyrus*, tells us, that the Ensign of the first *Cyrus* was a golden Eagle upon a Spear, with its Wings extended, which, he says, still continues to be the Ensign of the *Persian* Kings, and which we find by *Curtius*, continued to be so as long as the *Persian* Empire subsisted. The Description *Xenophon* gives us of this Eagle, comes so very near to that given by *Dion Cassius* of the *Roman* Eagle, and also to the Representation of it upon *Trajan's* Pillar, that one may reasonably conclude the *Romans* receiv'd theirs from the eastern Part of the World. I own it is very probable that the *Romans* had an Eagle for their Ensign before the Battle, in which the first *Cyrus* defeated *Cræsus*, and in which *Xenophon* says he had an Eagle for his Ensign; for this Battle was fought in the first Year of the 58th Olympiad, that is, about the 205th Year of *Rome*. Indeed the earliest mention I can find of the *Roman* Eagle is in the Year of *Rome* 299, and the third of the eighty-first Olympiad, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* being Consuls; where *Siccius Dentatus* tells the People, that, in an Action he there mentions, he recover'd the Eagle from the Enemy; but it must be own'd also, that it is there spoken of as a thing already establish'd. I say this to shew the mistake of some learned Men, who have

Xenophon
ἐν Κύρου
παιδείᾳ.
7 B.
Curtius,
3 B. 3 c.

Dion. Cassius,
40 B.

Eusebius
in his
Chronic.

Dionys. Hal. 10 B.

its Wings extended, resting upon a Spear. When the *Greeks* advanc'd towards them, the Horse quitted the Hill, not in a Body, but some running one way, and some another: However, the Hill was clear'd of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. *Clearchus* did not march up the Hill with his Men, but, halting at the foot of it, sent *Lycius* the *Syracusan*, and another, with Orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their Report; *Lycius* rode up the Hill, and, having view'd it, brought Word that the Enemy fled in all haste. While these things were doing, it grew near Sunset. Here the *Greeks* halted, and lying under their Arms, rested themselves. In the mean time they wonder'd, that neither *Cyrus* appear'd any where, nor any one from him: for they did not know he was dead; but imagin'd, that he was either led away by the Pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself

have maintain'd that *Marius* was the first who introduc'd the Use of this Ensign. I will hazard a Conjecture: It is this. If the Account given by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* be true, which he supports by so many Dionys. Hal. 1 B. probable Circumstances, that *Aeneas*, after the Destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, and built *Lavinium*, whose Inhabitants built *Alba*, of which the City of *Rome* was a Colony; if, I say, this Account be as true as it is probable, why may not *Aeneas* have brought this Ensign with him from the East? where possibly it might have been in use long before the Conquest of *Cyrus*.

110 *The* EXPEDITION of CYRUS.

himself of some Post. Hereupon they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their Baggage, or return to their Camp. At last they resolv'd to return : And arriv'd at their Tents about Supper-time : And this was the end of that Day. There they found the greatest part of their Baggage plunder'd, with all the Provisions, and also the Carriages full of Flower and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepar'd, in order to distribute them among the *Greeks*, if at any time his Army should labour under the want of Necessaries. It was said these Carriages amounted to four hundred : which were then all rifled by the King's Troops, so that the greatest part of the *Greeks* had no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner ; for, before the Army could halt in order to dine, the King appear'd. And in this manner they pass'd the Night.

The End of the First Book.



T H E

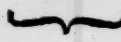


THE
EXPEDITION
OF
CYRUS.

BOOK II.

IN the foregoing Book we have shewn, by what means *Cyrus* rais'd an Army of *Greeks*, when he march'd against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, what was perform'd during his March, and in what manner the Battle was fought, how *Cyrus* was killed, and the *Greeks*, thinking they had gain'd a compleat Victory, and that *Cyrus* was alive, return'd to their Camp, and betook themselves

BOOK selves to rest. As soon as it was Day, the Ge-

II.  nerals, being assembled, wonder'd that *Cyrus* neither sent them any Orders, or appear'd himself; they resolv'd therefore to collect what was left of their Baggage, and, arming themselves, to move forward, in order to join *Cyrus*. Just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the Sun was risen, ¹ *Procles*, who was Governour of *Teuthrania*, a Descendent from *Damaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Glus*, the Son of ² *Tamos*, came to them, and acquainted them that *Cyrus* was dead, and that *Ariæus* had left the Field, and was retir'd, with the rest of the *Barbarians*, to the Camp they had left the Day before; they added, ³ that he

¹ Προκλῆς. *Teuthrania* was a City of *Mysia* in *Asia Minor*, of which *Procles* was Governour; he was descended from *Damaratus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, who was depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Colleague *Cleomenes*; upon which he fled to *Darius Hystaspes*, who entertain'd him with great Magnificence; he afterwards attended *Xerxes* in his Expedition to *Greece*.

² Ταμώ. He was of *Memphis*, and Admiral to *Cyrus*; after his Death, he sail'd with his Fleet to *Egypt*, and, having formerly conferr'd some Obligations on *Psammitichus*, who was then King of that Country, he made no doubt of his Protection; but *Psammitichus*, forgetting all Obligations, as well as the Laws of Hospitality, put him to death, and seiz'd his Fleet.

³ Καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἔχειν τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι Φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. All this is left out by *d' Ablancourt*.

Herodotus
in Poly-
hymnia.

Diod. Sic.
14 B.

he said he would stay for them that Day, if they thought fit to come; but that the next he would return to *Ionia*, from whence he came. The Generals, and the rest of the *Greeks*, hearing this, were greatly afflicted; and *Clearchus* said, “ + Would to God *Cyrus* were alive! but, since he is dead, let *Ariæus* know, that we have overcome the King, and, as you see, meet with no farther Resistance, and that, if you had not come, we had march’d against the King. At the same time assure *Ariæus* from us, that, if he will come hither, we will place him on the Throne: for those who gain the Victory, gain with it a right to command.” After he had said this, he sent back the Messengers, and with them *Cherisophus* the *Lacedæmonian*,

+ Ωφελε μὲν Κύρῳ ζῆν. Ωφελον is here join’d with an infinitive Mood, though in an optative Sense. In all these Phrases ωφελον, or the *Ionick* οφελον, is not an Adverb, whatever the Grammarians say, ως or εἴθε being always understood, which Construction of the Phrase is so true, that one of them is frequently express’d. Thus *Helen*, reproaching *Paris* for his inglorious Behaviour in the Duel between him and *Mene-laüs*, tells him,

Ηλυθες ἐκ πολέμου· ὥς ὠφελες αὐτόθ’ ὀλέσθαι, Π. γ.
 Ἀνδρὶ δαμνέει κρατερῶ, ὅς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν.

Many other Examples may be given from the same Author, where αἴθε or εἴθε is express’d.

BOOK *demonian*, and *Menon* the *Theſſalian*: for

II. *Menon* himſelf deſir'd it, he being a Friend to *Ariæus*, and engag'd to him by an Inter-
 courſe of Hoſpitality. So they went away, and *Clearchus* ſtaid 'till they return'd. In the mean time the Army got Proviſions as well as they could, killing the Oxen and Affes that belong'd to the Baggage: And, inſtead of other Wood, they made uſe of the Arrows, which they found in great Quantities in the Field of Battle, not far from the place where their Army lay, (and which the *Greeks* obliged the Deſerters to pull out of the Ground) and alſo of the *Persian* Bucklers, and the *Egyptian* Shields, that were made of Wood, beſides a great many Targets, and empty Waggonſ: with all which they dreſſ'd their Viſtuals, and, in this manner, they ſupported themſelves that Day.

It was now ^s about the time the Market is generally full, when Heralds arriv'd from the King and *Tiſſaphernes*, all of whom were *Barbarians*, except *Phalinus*, who was a *Greek*, and happen'd then to be with *Tiſſaphernes*, by whom he was much eſteem'd;

^s Περὶ πλὴθεσαν ἀγοράν. See the 117th Annotation upon the firſt Book.

esteem'd; for he pretended to understand Book
Tactics, and the ⁶ Exercise of Arms. These II.
drawing near, and calling for the *Greek*
Commanders, said, the King, since he had
gain'd the Victory, and kill'd *Cyrus*, order'd
the *Greeks* to deliver up their Arms, and, re-
pairing to ⁷ Court, endeavour to obtain some
favourable Terms from the King. This was the
Message brought by the Heralds; which the

I 2

Greeks

⁶ *Ὀπλομαχίαν*. *Leunclavius* has translated this *gladiatoriæ peritiam*, which I cannot think so proper as *artem armis depugnandi* in *Hutchinson*; *d'Abblancourt* has artfully evaded this Difficulty, by comprehending both τῶν περὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν in these general Words, *l'Art militaire*. It is very certain the *Romans* took many things, both in civil and military Affairs, from the *Greeks*, but I believe the gladiatorian Spectacles were in use in *Rome*, before they were heard of in *Greece*: The Origin of which seems to have been the early Custom in use among most Nations, of sacrificing Captives to the Manes of great Generals, who *Homer* were slain in war: Thus *Achilles* sacrifices twelve *Tro-* II. ♀.
jans to the Manes of *Patroclus*, and *Aeneas* sends Cap-*Virgil*
tives to *Evander*, to be sacrificed at the Funeral of his Son *Æneid*,
Palas: *Valerius Maximus* says, that *M. and D. Brutus*, II B.
in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Fulvius*, ho-*Val. Max.*
nour'd the Funeral of their Father with a gladiatorian 2 B. c. 4.
Spectacle, which from that time became frequent upon
those occasions; but this was many Years after the
time our Author speaks of, when I am convinc'd the
Greeks had never heard of these Spectacles; my Reason
is, because whenever any *Greek* Author of, or near the
Age *Xenophon* liv'd in, speaks of ὀπλόμαχοι, I dare
say they always understand Masters appointed to teach
military Exercises.

⁷ *Ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείας θύρας*. See the 29th Anno-
tation upon the first Book.

BOOK *Greeks* receiv'd with Indignation: However

II. *Clearchus* said no more to them, than that it was not the Part of Conquerors to deliver up their Arms: then, addressing himself to the Generals, he said, "Do you make the best and most becoming Answer you can, and I will return immediately:" for he was called out by one of his Servants to inspect the Entrails of the Victim, which he was then offering up in Sacrifice. Upon this *Cleanor* the *Arcadian*, the oldest Person present, made answer, "That they would sooner die than deliver up their Arms." Then *Proxenus*, the *Theban*, said, "I wonder, O *Phalinus*! whether the King demands our Arms, as a Conqueror; or, as a Friend, desires them by way of Present. If, as a Conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them?⁸ Why does he not rather come and take them? But, if he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the Soldiers to expect in return for so great an Obligation?" To this *Phalinus* answer'd; "The King looks upon himself as Conqueror, since he has
" killed

Plutarch
Apophth.

⁸ Τί δέϊ αὐτόν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; Thus, when *Xerxes* sent to *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae* to deliver up his Arms, the latter bid him come and take them; λαβεῖν μολών, says he, according to the concise Style of his Country.

“ killed *Cyrus* ; for who is now his Rival
 “ in the Empire ? He looks upon you also
 “ as his Property, since he has you in the
 “ middle of his Country, surrounded by
 “ impassable Rivers ; and can bring such
 “ numbers of Men against you, that, though
 “ he deliver’d them up to you, your Strength
 “ would fail you before you could put them
 “ all to death.”

AFTER him *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*,
 said, “ You see, O *Phalinus* ! that we have
 “ nothing now to depend upon, ’ but our
 “ Arms, and our Courage ; and, while we
 “ are Masters of our Arms, we think we
 “ can make use of our Courage also : but
 “ that, when we deliver up these, we de-
 “ liver up our Persons too. Do not there-

I 3

“ fore

’ Εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. *Αρετή* is here taken for
 Courage, in which Sense it is frequently used by the
 best Authors ; in this Sense *Idomeneus* says an Ambus-
 cade is the Trial of a Soldier’s Courage,

— λόχον ἔνθα μάλιστα ἀρετὴ διακρίνεται ἀνδρῶν,
 Εὐθ’ ὅτε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ’ ἀλκιμῶς, ἐξεφάνθη.

Homer
 Il. N.

In this Sense also *Virgil* says,

— *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirit ?*

Virgil
Æneid,
 2 B.

After this, I believe, it will be allowed, that *d’ Ablan-*
court does not give the Author’s Sense, when he says,
il ne nous est resté autre chose, que les armes & la liberté ;
 to justify this, he says the *Greek Word* signifies *la ver-*
tu, though *ἀρετή* in this place signifies neither Liberty
 nor Virtue.

BOOK "fore expect we shall deliver up the only
 II. "Advantages we possess; on the contrary,
 "be assur'd, that with these we are resoly'd
 "to fight with you, even for those you
 "are in possession of." *Phalinnus*, hearing
 this, smil'd, and said, "10 Young Man!
 "indeed you seem to be a Philosopher, and
 "speak handsomely. But, believe me, you
 "are mistaken, if you imagine, that your
 "Courage will prevail over the Power of
 "the King." However, it was reported, that
 others, whose Resolution began to fail, said,
 that, as they had been true to *Cyrus*, they
 would also be of great service to the King,
 if he were dispos'd to be their Friend: and
 that, whatever Commands he had for them,
 they would obey him; and, if he propos'd
 11 to invade *Egypt*, they would assist him
 in

Lucian
 περί μα-
 κροβίου.
 Laërtius
 11 B. c. 22.

10 Ω νεανίσκε. I find all the Translators have ren-
 der'd this in the same manner I have done; though if
Lucian's Account of our Author be true, that is, that
 he was above 90 Years old when he died; and if, ac-
 cording to *Laërtius*, he died in the first Year of the
 105th Olympiad, he must have been fifty, at least, at
 the time of this Expedition: which I mention for the
 sake of some worthy Gentlemen of my Acquaintance,
 who will not be sorry to find a Man of fifty treated
 as a young Man.

11 Επ' Αιγυπτου στρατεύειν. This Expedition is
 propos'd, because the *Egyptians* had several Years before
 withdrawn themselves from their Subjection to the
Persians, and were at this time govern'd by a King of
 their

in the Conquest of it. Upon this *Clearchus* return'd, and ask'd if they had already given their Answer. To whom *Phalinus* said, "These Men, O *Clearchus*! say one, "one thing, and another, another; but "pray, says he, let us have your Thoughts." To which he answer'd, "I rejoice, O *Phalinus*! to see you, as, I am persuaded, all these do, who are present: for you are a *Greek*, as well as we, whom you see before you in so great numbers; wherefore, in our present Circumstances, we desire you to advise us what we ought to do with regard to the Proposals you bring. "We intreat you, therefore, by all the Gods, give us that Advice, which you think best, and most becoming, and which will do you most honour in the Eyes of Posterity, when it shall be said, that *Phalinus*, being sent by the King with Orders to the *Greeks* that they should deliver up their Arms, and, being consulted by them, gave them this Advice: for you are sensible,

I 4

" that

their own, called *Psammitichus*, descended from the Diod. Sic. ancient *Psammitichus*, who, being one of the twelve 13 B. Kings, put all the rest to death, and, by that means, Herodotus made himself King of all Egypt. in Euterpe,

¹² Συμβουλευόμεθα σοι. See the 13th Annotation upon the first Book,

BOOK “ that your Advice, whatever it is, must be
 II. “ reported in *Greece*.” This *Clearchus* in-
 sinuated, with a view of engaging the King’s
 Ambassador himself to advise them not to
 deliver up their Arms, that, by this means, the
Greeks might entertain better hopes: But
 13 *Phalinus* artfully avoided the Snare, and,
 contrary to his Expectation, spoke as fol-
 lows :

“ IF you had the least hope of a thou-
 sand to preserve yourselves by making war
 “ against the King, I should advise you not to
 “ deliver

13 Φαλίνῳ δ’ ὑποσρέψας. It is with great reason
 that *Hutchinson* rejects the Sense *Leunclavius* gives to
 ὑποσρέψας in this place, as if it signified returning;
 he has shewn out of *Julius Pollux*, that ἐξαπατᾶν,
 σρέφεισθαι, and ὑποσρέφεισθαι, are synonymous; from
 whence he very properly derives the *Latin* word *strophæ*,
 a *Deceit*, to which I shall add, that *Pliny* the younger
 makes use of the Word in this Sense, in one of his
 Epistles, where he says, *inveniam aliquam stropham*,
agamque Causam tuam. There is also a Passage in *Ari-*
 stophanes, where σροφῇ is used in the same Signification,
 Aristophanes in ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἔργου ἐς’ ἕδην σροφῶν, which the Scholiast
 Pluto. explains in a manner very agreeable to the Sense of
 ὑποσρέψας in this place; σροφαί, says he, οἱ συμπε-
 πλεγμένοι, καὶ δολεροὶ λόγοι. D’ *Ablancourt* was aware of
 the Difficulty of this Word, and has left it out: No-
 thing surprises me so much, as that *Hutchinson*, after
 having so justly condemn’d *reversus* in his Notes, should
 follow it in his Translation. The *French* Language
 has an Expression, which very properly explains ὑπε-
 σρέψας in this place, *détournant le Coup*.

“ deliver up your Arms ; but, if you cannot
 “ hope for Safety without his Concurrence, I
 “ advise you to preserve yourselves by the only
 “ means you can.” *Clearchus* replied, “ This,
 “ I find, is your Sense of the Matter ; and
 “ this Answer you are desir’d to return from
 “ us, that we think, if it is propos’d we
 “ should be Friends to the King, we shall be
 “ more valuable Friends by preserving our
 “ Arms, than by parting with them ; and that,
 “ if we are to go to war with him, we shall
 “ make war with greater advantage by keep-
 “ ing our Arms, than by delivering them.”
Phalinus said, “ I shall report this Answer:
 “ However, the King order’d me also to let
 “ you know, that, if you stay where you
 “ are, you will have peace ; but, if you
 “ advance or march back, you must ex-
 “ pect war : let me have your Answer also
 “ to this ; and whether I shall acquaint the
 “ King, that you will stay here, and accept
 “ of peace, or that you declare for war.”
Clearchus replied, “ Let the King know,
 “ that in this we are of the same opinion
 “ with him.” “ What is that ?” said *Phali-*
nus. *Clearchus* answer’d, “ That, if we stay,
 “ there may be Peace, but, if we march
 “ back, or advance, War.” *Phalinus* again
 asked,

BOOK asked, " Shall I report peace or war?" To
 II. this *Clearchus* replied, " Peace, if we stay,
 " and, if we march back, or advance, War;"
 but did not declare what he propos'd to do.
 So *Phalimus*, and those with him, went
 away.

IN the mean time *Procles* and *Cherisophus* came from *Ariaeus*, but *Menon* staid with him. They brought word that *Ariaeus* said, there were many *Persians* of greater Consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their King: but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next Morning early. *Clearchus* answer'd, what you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not, do whatever you think most for your Advantage. But he did not acquaint even these with his Purpose. After this, when it was Sun-set, he assembled the Generals and Captains, and spoke to them as follows: " Gentlemen! I have consulted the Gods by Sacrifice, concerning marching against the King, and the Victims forbid it, and with great reason do they forbid it; for I am now inform'd that between us and the King

“ King lies the *Tigres*, a navigable River, BOOK
 “ which we cannot pass without Boats; and II.
 “ these we have not: neither is it possible
 “ for us to stay here, for we are without
 “ Provisions. But the Victims were very fa-
 “ vourable to the Design of joining *Cyrus*
 “ Friends. The Order therefore we ought
 “ to pursue, is this; let every Man retire,
 “ and sup upon what he has; and, when the
 “ Horn sounds to rest, pack up your Bag-
 “ gage; when it sounds a second time,
 “ charge the sumpter Horses; and, when a
 “ third, follow your Leader, and let the
 “ Baggage march next to the River, and
 “ the heavy-arm’d Men cover it.” The
 Generals and Captains hearing this, departed,
 and did as they were directed. From
 this time *Clearchus* commanded, and the
 rest submitted to him, not, as having elected
 him to that Employment, but, because they
 were sensible that he alone was equal to the
 Command, the rest being without Expe-
 rience. They had made from *Ephesus*, a
 City of *Ionia*, to the Field of Battle, ninety-
 three Marches, which amounted to five hun-
 dred and thirty-five Parasangas, or to ¹⁴ six-
 teen

¹⁴ Σταδίοι πενήκοντα ἢ ἑξακισχίλιοι ἢ μύριοι.
 This confirms what was advanc’d in the 21st An-
 notation

BOOK teen thousand and fifty Stadia : ¹⁵ and, from
 II. the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, it was computed there were three thousand and sixty Stadia.

AFTER this, as soon as it was dark, *Miltocythes*, the *Thracian*, with his Horse, being forty in number, and three hundred *Thracian* Foot, deserted to the King. *Clearchus* led the rest, in the manner he had appointed, and they followed : About
 Midnight,

notation upon the first Book, viz. that a *Parasanga* contain'd thirty Stadia.

¹⁵ Απὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἑτάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Here must be some mistake, probably, in the Transcriber, though *Xenophon* says upon Report only, that there were three thousand and sixty Stadia from the Field of Battle to *Babylon* : However, *Plutarch* seems to come much nearer the truth, when he says there were but five hundred ; for, if the Reader will compute the Distances mention'd by our Author from *Thapsacus*, where *Cyrus* pass'd the *Euphrates*, to the Field of Battle, he will find that they amount to no less than four thousand six hundred and fifty Stadia ; now the ancient Geographers allow no more than four thousand eight hundred, from *Thapsacus* to *Babylon*, in following the Course of the *Euphrates*, which we find was the Rout the Army took : so that there will, in that case, remain no more than one hundred and fifty Stadia, from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, which is so vastly short of the Distance mention'd by *Xenophon*, that the difference seems to be rather owing to a fault in the Transcriber, than to a mistake in those, from whom *Xenophon* receiv'd his Information. I am surpriz'd none of the Translators have thought fit to take notice of this Passage.

Plutarch
 in Artaxerxes.

Strabo,
 2 B.

Midnight, they arriv'd at their first Camp, BOOK II.
 where they found *Ariæus* with his Army; II.

and the Men being drawn up and standing to their Arms, the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks* went in a body to *Ariæus*, and both they and he, with the most considerable Men about him, took an Oath not to betray one another, and to become Allies: The *Barbarians* also swore that they would conduct them without Deceit. This was the Substance of their Oath, which was preceded by the ¹⁶ Sacrifice of a Boar, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram, whose Blood being all mix'd together in the hollow of a Shield, the *Greeks* dipp'd a Sword into it, and the *Barbarians* a Spear. When they had pledged their Faith, *Clearchus* said, " Since, O "*Ariæus*! your " Rout and ours are the "*same, say, what is your Opinion concern-*
" ing

¹⁶ Σφάξαντες κάρπον, &c. The Custom of giving a Sanction to solemn Leagues and Treaties, by the Sacrifice of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus Homer
 the Agreement between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and II. γ.
 the single Combat of *Paris* and *Menelaus*, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the Sacrifice of three Lambs, one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third Herodotus
 to *Jupiter*. The Blood of the Victims was often mixed in Melpo-
 with Wine, and sometimes receiv'd in a Vessel, in which the contracting Parties dipp'd their Arms, as *Herodotus*
 informs us was practis'd by the *Scythians*.

¹⁷ Στόλ. See the 19th Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK "ing our march? Shall we return the same

II. "way we came, or have you thought of

"any other more convenient?" *Ariæus*
 answer'd, "If we return the same way we
 "came, we shall all perish with Hunger;
 "since we are now entirely destitute of Pro-
 "visions: for, during the last seventeen days
 "march, we could supply ourselves with
 "nothing out of the Country, even in our
 "way hither; and, whatever was found
 "there, we have consumed it in our Pas-
 "sage; so that though the way we now pro-
 "pose to take is longer, yet we shall be in
 "no want of Provisions. We must make our
 "first Marches as long as ever we can, to
 "the end we may get as far as possible from
 "the King's Army: for, if we can once
 "gain two or three days march of him, it
 "will not after that be in his power to
 "overtake us: Since with a small Army
 "he will not dare to follow us, and with
 "a great one he will not be able to make
 "quick marches; it is also probable he may
 "want Provisions." This, says he, is my
 Opinion.

THIS Scheme for the march of the Army
 was calculated for nothing but a Retreat,
 or

first

or a Flight; but Fortune prov'd a more glorious Conductor. As soon therefore as it was Day, they began their march, with the Sun on their right, expecting to arrive by Sun-set at some Villages that lay in the Country of *Babylon*; and in this they were not mistaken. But ¹⁸ in the Afternoon they thought they saw the Enemy's Horse; upon which not only the *Greeks*, who happen'd to have left their Ranks, ran to them in all haste, but *Ariæus* also alighting, (for being wounded, he was carried in a Chariot) put on his Corslet, as did all those about him. But, while they were arming, the Scouts, who had been sent out, brought word, that they were not Horse, but only sumpter Horses at Pasture, from whence every one presently concluded that the King's Camp was not far off: For a Smoke also appear'd in the neighbouring Villages. However *Clearchus* did not lead them against the Enemy (for he knew the Men were tir'd, and had eaten nothing all Day; besides it was late): neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the Appearance of a Flight: but leading them directly forward, at Sun-set he quarter'd with the Vanguard,

in

¹⁸ Ἀμφὶ δειλν. See the 119th Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK in the Villages nearest to him, out of which
 II. the King's Army had carried away even
 the Timber that belong'd to the Houses. Those who arriv'd first, encamp'd with some kind of Uniformity, but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quarter'd, as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another, that the Enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the *Greeks* ran away, leaving even their Tents: This was known the next Day: for no sumpter Horses or Camp appear'd, neither was there any Smoke to be seen in the Neighbourhood. It seems the King himself was struck at the Approach of our Army: This was evident by what he did the next day.

ON the other side, the Night advancing, the *Greeks* also were seiz'd with Fear, which was attended with a Tumult and Noise, usual in such cases. Upon this *Clearchus* order'd *Tolmides* of *Elis*, the best Cryer of his time, whom he happen'd to have with him, to command silence, and make Proclamation from the Commanders, that, whoever gave Information of the Person, who had turn'd the ¹⁹ As into

¹⁹ Ος ἂν ἀφίεντα τὸν ὄνου εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, &c.
Hutchinson, I think, very justly finds fault with *Leun-*
clavius

the Quarter of the heavy-arm'd Men, should receive the Reward of a ²⁰ silver Talent. By this Proclamation, the Soldiers understood that their fear was vain, and their Commanders safe. At break of Day, *Clearchus* order'd the *Greeks* to stand to their Arms in the same Disposition they had observ'd in the Action.

WHAT I said concerning the King's being terrified at our Approach, became then manifest.

clavius for changing τὸν ὄνον into τὸν φόβον, without the Authority of any Manuscript; for, as he observes, we find in the beginning of this Book, that they had Asses among their Beasts of Burden: But then I cannot think *Exercitui* in *Leunclavius*, or in *Castra* in *Hutchinson*, a close Translation of εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, which last Sense I find *d'Ablancourt* has also given to it. I rather take τὰ ὄπλα in this place to signify the Quarter of the heavy-arm'd Men; in which Sense I dare say our Author uses it afterwards, where he says that *Proxenus* and himself were walking πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων; and in this Sense I am sure *Thucydides* uses the Word in the beginning of the third Book, where he says, that the Peloponnesians being encamp'd in Attica, laid waste the Country, 'till the Athenian Horse coming up, put a stop to the Excursions of the light-arm'd Men, and hinder'd them from leaving the heavy-arm'd, and continuing their Depredations in the Neighbourhood of the City: τὸν πλεῖστον ὁμίλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον, τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὀπλων, τὰ ἐγγύς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν, where τῶν ὀπλων is explain'd by the Greek Scholiast by τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

²⁰ Τάλαντον ἀργυρίᾱ. See the 11th Annotation upon the first Book. Possibly the Drachmæ and Minæ of which this Talent was compos'd, might be of a different Standard from those there mention'd.

BOOK manifest. For having sent to us the Day

II.

before to deliver up our Arms, he then sent
Heralds by Sun-rise to treat of a Truce. These, when they came to the Out-guards, enquir'd for the Commanders; of which, when the Guards gave notice, *Clearchus*, who happen'd at that time to be viewing the Ranks, bad them order the Heralds to stay 'till he was at leisure. And, as soon as he had drawn up the Army in such a manner, that it made a fine Appearance, ²¹ the Ranks being clos'd on all sides, and no unarm'd Men to be seen, he sent for the Messengers; and himself came forward, attended by those of his Soldiers, who were the best arm'd, and most graceful in their Persons, and desired the rest of the Generals to do the like. When they came to the Messengers, he asked them what they wanted. They said, they were Persons come to treat of a Truce, being properly qualified to carry Messages between the King and the *Greeks*. He answer'd, let the King know

then,

²¹ Φάλαγγα πυκνήν. Πύκνωσις τῆς Φάλαγγος, among the *Greek* Masters of Tactics signifies properly the closing both of the Ranks and Files. ἔστι πύκνωσις μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀραιότητος ἐς τὸ πυκνότερον συναγωγὴ κατὰ παραστάτην τε καὶ ἐπιστάτην. *Arrian*. This is unfortunately render'd by *d'Ablancourt* après avoir rangé l'armée en bataille au meilleur état qu'elle put être.

then, that first we must fight : for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no Man so hardy as to mention a Truce to the *Greeks*, unless he first provides them a Dinner. The Messengers, hearing this, departed, and return'd presently : by which it appear'd that the King was near at hand, or some other Person, who was appointed to transact this matter. They said the King thought their Demand very reasonable, and that they had brought Guides with them, who, if a Truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place, where they would find Provisions. *Clearchus* then ask'd, whether the King propos'd to comprehend those only in the Truce, who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to all ; they said to all, 'till the King is inform'd of your Proposals. After they had said this, *Clearchus* ordering them to withdraw, held a Council, where it was resolv'd immediately to conclude a Truce, and to march peaceably to the place where the Provisions were, and supply themselves therewith. *Clearchus* said, I join with you in this opinion ; however, I will not immediately acquaint the Messengers with our

BOOK Resolution, but defer it 'till they ²² apprehend lest we should reject the Truce. I
 II. imagine that our Soldiers also will lie under the same Apprehension. Therefore when he thought it time, he let them know that he would enter into a Truce, and immediately order'd the Guides to conduct them where they might get Provisions: so they led the way.

CLEARCHUS then march'd with his Army in Order of Battle, to conclude the Truce, he himself taking charge of the Rear. In their march they met with Ditches and Canals full of Water, which they were not able to pass without Bridges. These they made with Palm-Trees, some of which they found lying upon the Ground, others they cut down. Upon this occasion it might be observ'd, how equal *Clearchus* was to the Command; for, taking his Pike in his left Hand, and a ²³ Staff in his right, if he
 saw

²² Ες' ἃν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ Ἀγγελοι. Οκνῶ. φοβῆμαι.
 καὶ πυκνῶς τότε κέχρηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ φοβεῖσθαι.

Soph. in
 Ajax.

Φρουρῦντα γὰρ νυν ἐκ ἃν ἐξέειπεν Ὀκυρ.

This is from *Suidas*, whom I quote upon this occasion, because this Word, in its general Acceptation, signifies to be unwilling, to be backward.

²³ Εν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηριάν. The *Lacedæmonian* Commanders carried a Staff or Stick, (I am afraid of calling

saw any of those he had appointed to this Service, backward in the execution of it, he displac'd him, and substituted a proper Person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the Dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was asham'd not to be active. He had appointed Men of thirty Years of Age to this Service, but, when those of a more advanc'd Age, saw *Clearchus* forwarding the Work in Person, they gave their Assistance also. *Clearchus* pressed it the more, because he suspected the Ditches were not always so full of Water, (for it was not the Season to water the Country) : he therefore imagin'd the King had order'd the Waters to be let out, with this view, that the *Greeks* might foresee great Difficulties attending their march.

K 3

AT

calling it a Cane) possibly for the same purpose, as the *Roman* Centurions used a *Vitis*, that is, to correct their Soldiers. *Thucydides* gives one to *Astyochus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Commander ; and we find in *Plutarch*, that *Eurybia*, Thucyd. 8 Book. *des*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and *Themistocles*, differing in opinion concerning the Operations of their united Fleet, the former, impatient of Contradiction, in his Life held up his Stick threatening to strike *Themistocles*, who, instead of being diverted by this Outrage from supporting his Opinion, upon which he knew the Safety of all *Greece* depended, generously sacrific'd his Resentment for a private Indignity to his Zeal for the publick Good, and made him that memorable Answer, *Strike, if you will, but hear me*, *πάταξον μὲν, ἀκούε*
σθαι δέ.

BOOK

II.

AT last they came to the Villages, where the Guides told them they might supply themselves with Provisions. Here they found plenty of Corn, and ²⁴ Wine made of the Fruit of the Palm-Tree, and also Vinegar drawn, by boiling, from the same Fruit. These Dates, such as we have in *Greece*, they give to their Domesticks; but those which are reserv'd for the Masters, are chosen Fruit, and worthy of Admiration, both for their Beauty and Size. They had, in all respects, the Appearance of Amber. Some of these they dried for Sweet-meats. The Wine that was made of this Fruit was sweet to the Taste, but apt to give the Head-ake: Here also the Soldiers eat, for the first time, ²⁵ the Pith of the Palm-Tree, and many admir'd both the ²⁶ Figure, and the peculiar

²⁴ Οὐδὲ Φαινίκων. See the 92^d Annotation upon the first Book.

Plin.N.H. ²⁵ Τὸν ἐκὲς φάλλον τῷ φαίνικῳ. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus* both say, that the Pith here mention'd grows on the top of the Palm-Tree.

Theoph.

2 B. c. 8.

²⁶ Εἶδος. I cannot like *genus ipsum* in the *Latin* Translators for εἶδος: had *Xenophon* meant the kind of Food, as *Hutchinson*, I find, understands it, since he has added the word *cibi*, he sure would also have added τῷ ἐδεσμάτῳ. I rather think that our Author meant the particular Figure of it, which is no uncommon Signification of the word εἶδος; d' *Ablancourt* has also understood it in this Sense.

peculiar Sweetness of it. This also occasion'd violent Head-akes. The Palm-Tree; from whence this Pith was taken, wither'd entirely. Here they staid three Days; during which *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen's Brother, and three other *Persians*, came from the great King: They were attended by many Slaves. When the *Greek* Generals went to meet them, *Tissaphernes*, by an Interpreter, first spoke in the following manner:

BOOK II.

" I live, O *Greeks*! in the Neighbour-
 " hood of *Greece*, and, seeing you involv'd
 " in many insuperable Difficulties, look'd
 " upon it as a ²⁷ piece of good Fortune, that
 " I had room to request the King to allow
 " me to conduct you safe into *Greece*: for
 " I imagine that I shall find no want of Gra-

K 4

" titude

²⁷ Εὐρημα ποιοσάμην. In this sense Εὐρημα is used by *Thucydides*, where *Nicias* tells the *Athenians*, that the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* having taken an unhappy Turn, they would look upon it as a piece of good Fortune to have it in their power immediately to hazard a Battle, *ἐκείνοις δὲ δυσ-υχῶσιν, ὅτι τάχιστα εὐρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεύσαι*: I think *Leunclavius* has not said properly, *reperiundum mihi aliquid duxi*; how much happier has *Hutchinson* render'd it, *in lucro mihi deputandum censui*? *Jay taché d'apporter quelque remède à vos maux* in *d'Ablancourt*, has not the least pretence to a Translation of this Passage.

BOOK " titude either in you, or in the whole
 II. " *Greek* Nation. Upon this Consideration
 " I made my request to the King, alledging,
 " that I had a Title to this Favour, because
 " I was the first Person, who inform'd him
 " that *Cyrus* was marching against him,
 " and, together with this Information,
 " brought an Army to his Assistance: And
 " also, because I was the only Commander
 " in that part of the Army that was oppo-
 " site to the *Greeks*, who did not fly, but
 " broke through, and join'd the King in
 " your Camp: whither he came, after he
 " had killed *Cyrus*; and, with these Troops
 " here present, who are most faithful to
 " him, I persued the *Barbarians* belong-
 " ing to *Cyrus*. These things, the King
 " said, he would take into Consideration;
 " but commanded me to ask you, what
 " Motive induc'd you to make war upon
 " him? And I advise you to answer with
 " Temper, that I may, with the greater ease,
 " obtain some favour for you, from the
 " King."

UPON this the *Greeks* with-drew, and,
 having consulted together, made answer.
Clearchus spoke in the Name of the rest, and
 said,

said, " We did not come together with BOOK
 " a design of making War upon the King, II.
 " neither did we march against him: But
 " *Cyrus* found many Pretences, as you very
 " well know, that he might take you unpre-
 " par'd, and lead us hither. However, when
 " we saw him in Difficulties, our Respect both
 " to Gods, and Men, would not allow us to
 " abandon him, especially since we had for-
 " merly given ourselves leave to receive
 " Obligations from him: But since *Cyrus*
 " is dead, we neither contend with the
 " King for his Kingdom, nor have any rea-
 " son to desire to infest his Country: nei-
 " ther do we mean to destroy him, but to
 " return home, provided no one molests
 " us; but, if any Man offers an Injury to
 " us, we shall, with the Assistance of the
 " Gods, endeavour to revenge it. And, if any
 " one confers a Favour on us, we shall not,
 " to the utmost of our power, be behind-
 " hand in returning it." Thus he said.

To him *Tissaphernes* replied: " I shall
 " acquaint the King with this, and then let
 " you know what he says to it; and, 'till I
 " return, ²⁸ let the Truce continue; in
 " the

²⁸ Αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων. See the 65th Annotation
 upon the first Book.

BOOK " the mean time we will provide a Market

II. " for you." The next Day he did not return, which gave the *Greeks* some Uneasiness: but the third Day he came, and inform'd them, that he had prevail'd upon the King to allow him to conduct them safe to *Greece*, though many oppos'd it, alledging, that it was " unbecoming the Dignity of the King to suffer those to escape, who had made war upon him. He concluded thus; " And now you may rely upon the Assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the Country to treat you as " Friends, conduct you without Guile into " *Greece*, and provide a Market for you: " And, wherever we do not provide one, we " allow you to supply yourselves out of the " Country. On your side, you must take " an Oath to us, that you will march, as " through a Friend's Country, without doing any damage to it, and only supply " yourselves with Meat, and Drink, when " we

Thucyd.
2 B.

" Ως ἔκ ἀξίον εἰν βασιλεῖ. *Thucydides* uses this Word in the same Sense, where the Embassadors of *Platæa* tell *Archidamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, that, by making an Irruption into their Country, they act unjustly, and in a manner unbecoming both themselves and their Ancestors, ὃ δίκαια ποιεῖτε, ὃ δ' ἀξία ἔτε ὑμῶν, ἔτε πατέρων ὧν ἐστέ, εἰς γῆν τὴν Ἠλαταίων στρατεύοντες.

“ we do not provide a Market for you :
 “ And, when we do, that you will pay for
 “ what you want.” This was agreed upon ;
 and *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen’s Brother,
 took the Oath, and gave their Hands to the
Greek Generals, and Captains, and receiv’d
 those of the *Greeks*. After this, *Tissapher-*
nes said, I must now return to ³⁰ the King,
 and, when I have dispatch’d what is neces-
 sary, I will come back to you, with all
 things in readiness, both to conduct you
 into *Greece*, and return myself to my own
 Government.

AFTER this the *Greeks* and *Ariæus*, be-
 ing encamp’d near to one another, waited
 for *Tissaphernes* above twenty Days. Dur-
 ing which, the Brothers, and other Relations
 of *Ariæus*, came to him, and some of the
Persians came to those who were with
 him, giving them Encouragement, and As-
 surances from the King, that he would for-
 get their taking up Arms against him in fa-
 vour of *Cyrus*, and every thing else, that
 was past. While these things were trans-
 acting, it was manifest that *Ariæus* and his
 People

³⁰ Ως βασιλεία. See the 18th Annotation upon
 the first Book.

BOOK People paid less regard to the *Greeks*: Many

II.

of whom, being dissatisfied at this, came to *Clearchus*, and to the rest of the Generals, and said, "Why do we stay here? "Do we not know, that the King desires, "above all things, to destroy us, to the "end that all the rest of the *Greeks* may "be deterred from making War against "him? He now seduces us to stay, because "his Army is dispers'd, which being re- "assembled, it is not to be imagin'd, but that "he will attack us: Possibly also he may ob- "struct our march, either by digging a "Trench, or raising a Wall in some con- "venient place, in such a manner, as to "render it impracticable³¹. For he will "never willingly suffer us to return to "*Greece*, and publish, that, being so few "in number, we have defeated his Army at "very the Gates of his Palace, and return'd "in triumph."

BUT

³¹ Ου γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βελησεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτῆς, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. I have transcrib'd this Period, that the Reader may confront it with *d'Abblancourt's* Translation. Thus he has render'd it, *car il ne souffrira jamais que nous repassions en Greece pour y publier notre gloire & sa honte*. This is one of those many Periods in that Translator, the Vivacity of which could not fail to please, were they not design'd for Translations.

BUT *Clearchus* said to those who al-
 ledg'd this; " I consider all these things as well
 " as you ; but I consider at the same time,
 " that, if we now depart, we shall be thought
 " to depart with an Intention of making
 " War, and to act contrary to the Terms of
 " the Truce : The Consequence of which
 " will be, that no one will provide a Mar-
 " ket for us, or a Place, where we may
 " supply ourselves : Besides, we shall have
 " no Guide to conduct us ; and the mo-
 " ment we enter upon these Measures, *A-*
 " *riæus* will desert us : so that we shall pre-
 " sently have no Friend left, and even those,
 " who were so before, will become our
 " Enemies. I don't know whether we have
 " any other River to pass, but we all know
 " that it is not possible for us to pass the
 " *Euphrates*, if the Enemy oppose it. If
 " if we are oblig'd to fight, we have no
 " Horse to assist us, whereas those of the
 " Enemy, are very numerous, and very good ;
 " so that, if we conquer, how many shall
 " we be able to kill ? And, if we are con-
 " quer'd, none of us can possibly escape.
 " Therefore I don't see why the King, who
 " is possess'd of so many Advantages, should,
 " if he desires to destroy us, think it neces-
 " sary

BOOK " fary first to take an Oath, and pledge his

II. " Faith, then to provoke the Gods by Per-

jury, and shew both the *Greeks* and *Bar-*
barians, how little that Faith is to be
 " relied on : " He said a great deal more
 to the same purpose.

IN the mean time *Tissaphernes* arriv'd
 with his Forces, as if he design'd to return
 home, and with him *Orontas* also with his
 Men. The last carried with him the King's
 Daughter, whom he had married. From
 thence they began their march, *Tissapher-*
nes leading the way, and providing them
 with a Market. *Ariæus* march'd at the
 Head of the *Barbarians*, who had serv'd
 under *Cyrus*, with *Tissaphernes* and *Oron-*
tas, and encamp'd with them. The *Greeks*,
 being diffident of these, march'd by them-
 selves, having Guides to conduct them. Each
 of them always encamp'd separately, at the
 distance of a Parasanga, or less; and were
 each upon their Guard against one another,
 as against an Enemy, and this immediate-
 ly created a Suspicion: Sometimes, while
 they were providing themselves with Wood,
 Forage, or other things of that nature, they
 came to Blows: And this also bred ill
 Blood

Blood between them. After three days BOOK II.
march, they came to the Wall of *Media*, through which they passed: ³² it was
built with burn'd Bricks laid in Bitumen;
and was twenty Feet in thickness, and
one hundred in height; it was said to
be

³² Ην δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ
κειμέναις. The Walls of *Babylon* were also built with
burnt Bricks cemented with Bitumen instead of Morter:
ἐλκύσαντες δὲ, says *Herodotus*, πλίνθας ἱκανὰς, ὥπτη- *Herodotus*
σαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσ- *in Clio.*
φάλτῳ θερμῇ. I am convinc'd from these, and several
other Passages among the Ancients, that they employed
raw Bricks for many uses, otherwise it cannot well be
understood why these two Authors should lay so much stress
upon these Bricks being burn'd: but this is not all, I am
persuaded that the Directions given by *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*,
for making Bricks, *Vitruvius* relate chiefly to raw Bricks,
for they both direct ^{2 B. c. 3.} the Earth, of which the Bricks
are made, to be wrought up with Straw. These Directions
are, no doubt, very proper, where the Bricks are not to be
burn'd, because the Straw holds the Earth together; but, if
Bricks made in this manner were to be burn'd, the consequence
would be, that the Straw being consum'd in the Fire, as many
pieces of Straw as there were in every Brick, so many hollow
places there would be in them. There is a Passage in *Pausanias*,
where he tells us, that *Agessipolis*, making an Irruption into
the Country of *Mantineia*, turn'd the River *Ophis* that ran
near the Town, against the Wall, and, by that means, dissolv'd
it; the reason he gives for it, is, that *it was* *Pausanias*
built of raw Brick, ὥμῃς ὠκοδομημένης τῆς πλίνθας. ἐν
Αρχα-δικοῖς.
Upon this occasion he says, that raw Bricks are better to resist
battering Engines, than Stones, because they are not so subject
to break and fly out of their Courses: but then he adds, that
raw Bricks are as easily dissolv'd by Water, as Wax is by the Sun.

Book be twenty Parasangas in length: and was
 II. not far from *Babylon*.

FROM thence they made, in two days march, eight Parasangas, and pass'd two Canals, one upon a Bridge, the other upon seven Pontons: ³³ These Canals were deriv'd from the *Tigres*; from them, Ditches were cut that ran into the Country, the first, broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small Water-courses, such as are used in *Greece* to water Panic. Thence they came to the River *Tigris*, near which stood a large and populous City, called *Sitace*, at the distance of fifteen Stadia from the River; the *Greeks* encamp'd close to the Town, near a large and beautiful ³⁴ Park, thick with Trees of every kind, and the *Barbarians* on the other side of the *Tigris*, but out of sight of our Army. After Supper *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* happen'd to be walking before the ³⁵ Quarter, where the heavy-arm'd Men lay encamp'd; when a Man came and ask'd the

Out-

³³ Αυται δε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Τίγρητος ποταμῦ. See the 115th Annotation upon the first Book.

³⁴ Εἰς γὰρ Παραδείσους. See the 22^d Annotation upon the first Book.

³⁵ Πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων. See the 19th Annotation upon this Book.

Out-guards, where he might ³⁶ speak with *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*: But he did not enquire for *Menon*, though he came from *Ariaeus*, with whom *Menon* liv'd in ³⁷ Hospitality. And, when *Proxenus* told him he was the Person he enquir'd after, the Man said, *Ariaeus* and *Artaezus*, who were faithful to *Cyrus*, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand upon your guard, lest the *Barbarians* attack you to-night, there being numerous Forces posted in the neighbouring Park. They advise you also to send a Detachment to guard the Bridge over the *Tigris*, because *Tissaphernes* designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to pass the River, but may be shut in between the

³⁶ Πῶς ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Both the Latin Translators have said *ubinam Proxenum vel Clearchum reperirent*: D'Ablancourt has translated it in the same Sense. There is a Passage in *Thucydides* which induces me to differ from them; he says, τὸν Περσίδα, 4 B. και — ἠνάγκασαν, πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν — προαπελθεῖν: where πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν is thus explain'd by the Greek Scholiast, πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασίδᾳ, ἔτι γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς τὸ ἰδεῖν τί σε ἐβλόμην ἀπὲρ τῆς διαλεχθῆναι σοί τι. And indeed frequent Instances of this Atticism are to be met with in the best Authors.

³⁷ Ἔνθα. See the 12th Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK the *Tigris*, and the Canal. They, hearing
 II. this, carried him to *Clearchus*, and inform'd
 him of what he said. Upon which *Clearchus* was in great Trouble and Consternation; when a young Man, who was present, having consider'd the matter, said, "To attack us, and break down the Bridge too, are things inconsistent; for it is plain, that, if they attack us, they must either conquer, or be conquer'd: if they conquer, why should they break down the Bridge? For, in that case, though there were many Bridges, we should have no Place to retreat to with safety. On the other side, if we conquer them, and the Bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no Place to fly to; neither can the rest of their Army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any Assistance."

CLEARCHUS, hearing this, ask'd the Messenger, ³⁸ of what Extent the Country was,

³⁸ Πόση τις εἴη χώρα. *D'Ablancourt* has visibly mistaken the Sense of this Expression, he says *Clearque demanda au Messager quel étoit le Païs entre le Tigre & le Canal*, whereas πόσῳ denotes Quantity not Quality, as the Grammarians speak, for which reason he should have said, *de quelle étendue étoit le Païs*;
 had

was, that lay between the *Tigris*, and the Book
Canal: The other answer'd, that it was of II.
a large Extent, and contain'd, besides Vil-
lages, many large Cities. It was then found,
that the *Barbarians* had sent this Man insi-
diously, ³⁹ from an Apprehension, lest the

Greeks

had *Xenophon* said ποία τις εἴη χῶρα, his Translation
would have been proper. The *Latin* Translators have
render'd it as they ought. What I have said is justi-
fied by the Messenger's Answer, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλή.

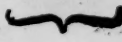
³⁹ Οκυνντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν,
μένοινεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. So the *Latin* Translators give the
Text, without taking any notice of a very great Diffi-
culty that occurs in it; but, in order to understand
this, let us cast our Eyes upon the Situation of the
Greeks. They had pass'd the last of the two Canals,
that lay in their way, and were now encamp'd under
the Walls of a Town call'd *Sitace*, that stood close
to the River *Tigris*; while they lay there, the *Per-
sians*, who were encamp'd on the other side of that
River, sent this insidious Message to them: But what
was the occasion of this Message? Certainly not the
fear, lest the *Greeks*, after they had pass'd the Bridge,
should remain in the Island, *ne Græci, cum transissent
Pontem, in Insula manerent*, as *Hutchinson* has translated
it. The Bridge, *Xenophon* has told us, lay over the
Tigris, and the Island was the Country that lay be-
tween that River and the Canal they had already
pass'd, which Island *Xenophon* has already told us in
two places, was a large and plentiful Country, and
very populous: The end of this Message therefore was
to divert the *Greeks* from staying in this Island, for the
Reasons alledg'd by our Author, and the readiest way
to effect that, was to induce them to pass the *Tigris*
immediately, from an Apprehension, lest the Enemy
should break down the Bridge; and, that the View of
the *Persians* was to engage them to pass the River,
and not to prevent them from doing so, as *Hutchinson*

BOOK *Greeks* should not pass the Bridge, but remain in the Island, which was defended on one side, by the *Tigris*, and on the other, by the Canal: where the Country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of Labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with Provisions, and afford them a Retreat, if they were dispos'd to make War upon the King. After this, they went to Rest; however they sent a Detachment to guard the Bridge: But no Attempt of any kind was made upon their Camp, neither did any of the Enemy come

up

and *Leunclavius* have translated it, appears very plainly from their Behaviour afterwards; for we find they did not attempt to molest them in their Passage. By this time I believe the Reader is satisfied there must be some fault in the Text, which I will venture to cure by the Addition of one little Word; if we read *ὀκνῶντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*, the Sense will be compleat; and, that this Correction, which is the first I have made, may not seem too bold, I will put the Reader in mind of a Passage in our Author, where there is exactly the same Turn of Phrase, I am here contending for; he says of his Master *Socrates*, *ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελόμενος, ἀργύριον πράττοιτο, καὶ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος εἶναι, φίλου ἀνθρώπου κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβείτο μὴ ὁ γενόμενος καλὸς καγαθὸς, τῇ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μέγιστον χάριν ἔχειν*. *D' Ablancourt*, by his Translation, seems to have been aware of this Difficulty, in which he must be allowed to have the Advantage over the *Latin* Translators, though neither he nor they have said one Word to clear it up, or even to discover it.

Xenophon
ἀπομνη
μνευμά-
των, 1 B.

up to the Bridge, as the Guards inform'd us. BOOK
 The next Morning, by break of Day, they II.
 pass'd the Bridge, which was supported by 
 thirty-seven Pontons, with all possible Pre-
 caution: for, some of the *Greeks*, who
 were with *Tissaphernes*, sent word, that the
 Enemy design'd to attack them in their Pas-
 sage: but this did not prove true. How-
 ever, while they were passing the River,
Glus appear'd with some others, observing
 whether they pass'd it or not: and perceiv-
 ing they did, he rode off.

FROM the *Tigris* they made, in four
 days march, twenty Parasangas, and came to
 the River *Physcus*, which was one hundred
 Feet in breadth. There was a Bridge over
 it. Here stood a large and populous City,
 called *Opis*: At this place they were met by
 a natural Brother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*,
 who was marching to the Assistance of the
 King, at the head of a numerous Army,
 which he had drawn out of *Susa* and *Ecba-*
tana; and, causing his Troops to halt, he
 took a view of the *Greeks*, as they pass'd
 by him. *Clearchus* led his Men two by two,
 standing still from time to time: Thus, while
 the Vanguard halted, the whole Army was

BOOK oblig'd to stand still. By this means, their

II. Forces appear'd very numerous, even to the
 { *Greeks* themselves, and the *Persian* was
 struck with the sight. From thence they
 made, in six days march, thirty *Parasangas*,
 through the desert Part of *Media*, and ar-
 riv'd at the Villages belonging to *Parysatis*,
 the Mother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*: These
Tissaphernes, to insult the Memory of *Cyrus*,
 gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder of every thing
 but Slaves: There they found a great Quan-
 tity of Corn, ⁴⁰ Cattle, and ⁴¹ other things.
 From thence they made twenty *Parasangas*,
 in five days march, through a Desert, hav-
 ing the *Tigris* on their left. At the end of
 their first Day's march, they saw a large and
 rich City, on the other side of the River,
 called *Cænæ*; from whence the *Barbarians*
 transported Bread, Checse, and Wine ⁴² upon
 Rafts made of Skins.

AFTER that they came to the River
Zabatus, which was four hundred Feet in
 breadth. Here they staid three Days. Dur-
 ing

⁴⁰ Πρόβατα. Πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα. *Suidas*.

⁴¹ Χήματα. See the 53^d Annotation upon the
 first Book.

⁴² Σχεδιαίς. See the 90th Annotation upon the
 first Book.

ing which time, there were Jealousies, but no Evidence of Treachery: *Clearchus* therefore resolv'd to have a Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and, if possible, to put an end to these Jealousies, before they broke out into Hostilities: with this view he sent a Person, to let him know that he desir'd a Conference with him. *Tissaphernes* readily answer'd that he might come; and, when they met, *Clearchus* spoke thus: " I am sensible, O *Tissaphernes*! that we have sworn, and pledg'd our Faith, not to do any Injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are upon your guard against us, as against an Enemy: And we, perceiving this, stand also upon our guard. But, since upon Consideration I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any mischief, and am very sure that we have not the least Thought of hurting you, I judg'd it proper to have a Conference with you, to the end that we might, if possible, extinguish our mutual Diffidence. For I have known Men, who, while through Calumnies or Jealousies, they stood in fear of one another, have, with a View of inflicting a Mischief before they received

BOOK " one, done irreparable Injuries to those,
II. " who never had either the Intention, or
" Desire to hurt them. As therefore I am
" of opinion, that such Mistakes are easiest
" remov'd by Conferences, I come with an
" Intention of convincing you, that you
" have no reason to distrust us. For, to
" mention that first, which is of the greatest
" moment : Our oaths, to which we have
" called the Gods to witness, forbid us to
" be Enemies ; and that Person who is
" conscious to himself of having neglected
" them, in my opinion, can never be happy ;
" for, whoever becomes the Object of divine
" Wrath, I know no Swiftneſs can ſave
" him, no Darkneſs hide him, no ſtrong
" Place defend him : Since in all Places all
" Things are ſubject to their Power, and
" every where they are equally Lords of
" all. This is my Opinion concerning both
" our Oaths, and the Gods, whom, by our
" Agreement, we have made the Deposi-
" taries of our Friendship. As to human
" Advantages, I look upon you to be the
" greateſt we can promiſe ourſelves at this
" juncture ; for, while we are with you,
" every Road is pervious, every River paſ-
" ſable, and we are ſure to know no want :
" but,

“ but, without you, every Road becomes ob-
 “ scure, (for we are utterly unacquainted
 “ with them) every River impassable, every
 “ Multitude terrible, and Solitude the most
 “ terrible of all ; for ⁴³ that is attended
 “ with the want of every thing. If there-
 “ fore we should arrive to such a degree
 “ of Madness, as to put you to death, what
 “ should we do else but destroy our Bene-
 “ factor, and still have the King, the most
 “ powerful of all ⁴⁴ Avengers, to contend
 “ with ? I shall now let you see what hopes
 “ I should deprive myself of, if I endea-
 “ your’d

⁴³ Μεσ-ἡ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. The *Latin* Trans-
 lators do not seem to have attended to the general
 Contrast there is between these two Periods, otherwise
 they would not have render’d μεσ-ἡ πολλῆς ἀπορίας,
multis difficultatibus referta ; for, as ὁδὸς διὰ σκότους is
 oppos’d to ὁδὸς εὐποροῦ, and πᾶς ποταμὸς δύσπορος
 to πᾶς ποταμὸς διαβατός, so μεσ-ἡ πολλῆς ἀπορίας
 is visibly oppos’d to τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔκ ἀπορία. *D’Ab-*
lancourt has, in my opinion, said much better, *parce*
qu’elle traîne après soy la nécessité.

⁴⁴ Εφεδρὸν. Εφεδρῶ, according to the *Greek* Scho- Sophoc.
 liaist upon *Sophocles*, is properly ὁ παρεσκευασμένῳ, ὅταν Ajax, *υ.*
 ὁ οἱ τινὲς παλαίωσι, παλαίσειν τῷ νικήσαντι. *Plutarch* 615.
 very beautifully applies this to *Telestinus*, who was very
 near defeating *Sylla*, after so many Victories, at the
 Gates of *Rome*, τὸν μέντοι τελευταίου ἀγῶνα, καθάπερ *Plutarch*
 εφεδρῶ ἀθλητῆς καταπόνῳ προσενεχθεὶς ὁ Σαννίτης Τε- in his Life
 λεσίνῳ, εἰγὺς ἦλθε τῷ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ of *Sylla*.
 θύραις τῆς Ρώμης. This cannot be preserv’d in a mo-
 dern Translation.

BOOK " your'd to hurt you. I desir'd to make
 II. " *Cyrus* my Friend, because I look'd upon
 " him as the most capable of all Men living
 " to serve those he wish'd well to. Now, I
 " find, you have obtain'd not only the
 " Army, but the Country, that belong'd to
 " *Cyrus*, as an Accession to your own; and
 " that the King's Power, of which he felt
 " the Weight, is become your Support. In
 " these Circumstances therefore, who would
 " be so mad as not to desire to be your
 " Friend? Yet farther I shall let you know
 " upon what I found my hopes, that you
 " will also desire to be a Friend to us. I
 " know the *Mysians* are troublesome to
 " you; these, with the Forces under my
 " Command, I hope I can oblige to submit
 " to your Power. I know the same thing
 " of the *Pisidians*, and am inform'd that
 " many other Nations are in the same Dis-
 " position, who, by my means, shall cease
 " for ever to disturb your Happiness. I
 " find you are incens'd against the ⁴⁵ *Egyptians*,
 " more than against any other Na-
 " tion, and cannot see what Forces you can
 " better employ than ours, to assist you in
 " chastising

⁴⁵ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ. See the 12th Annotation upon this Book.

“ chastising them. If you desire to be a BOOK
 “ Friend to any of your Neighbours, your II.
 “ Friendship, through our means, will be-
 “ come most valuable : and, if any of them
 “ molest you, you may, as their Superior,
 “ destroy them by our Assistance ; for we
 “ shall not only be subservient to you for
 “ the sake of our Pay, but also in return for
 “ the Obligation we shall justly owe to you,
 “ as to our Deliverer. When I consider all
 “ these things, I am so much surpriz’d to
 “ find you diffident of us, that I would wil-
 “ lingly know the Person, who is so power-
 “ ful an Orator, as to persuade you, that
 “ we form Designs against you.” Thus spoke
Clearchus ; and *Tissaphernes* answer’d him
 in this manner :

“ I am pleas’d, O *Clearchus* ! to hear you
 “ speak with so much prudence : for, while
 “ you entertain these Thoughts, if you
 “ should meditate any thing against me, you
 “ would, at the same time, act contrary to
 “ your own Interest. But do you hear me
 “ in your turn, while I inform you, that
 “ you yourselves cannot, with justice, distrust
 “ either the King, or me : for, if we were
 “ desirous to destroy you, do you think we

are

BOOK " are in any want of numerous Horfe, or
II. " Foot to effect it? Or of Arms defensive
" and offensive, with which we have it in
" our power to do you mischief, without
" the danger of receiving any? Or do you
" think we want proper Places to attack
" you? Are there not so many Plains inha-
" bited by our Friends, through which you
" must march with great difficulty? So
" many Mountains within your sight, over
" which your Road lies, and which, by
" our possessing ourselves of them, we can
" render impassable to you? So many Ri-
" vers which afford us the Advantage of
" chusing out what numbers of you we
" think proper to engage? Some of these
" you cannot even pass but by our Assis-
" tance. But say, we are inferior in all
" these: Fire at least will prove superior
" to the Fruits of the Earth. By burning
" these we can oppose Famine to you,
" with which, though you are never so
" brave, you will not be able to contend.
" Why therefore should we, who have so
" many Opportunities of making war upon
" you, none of which carry any Danger
" with them, chuse the only one of all these,
" that is both impious, and dishonourable;
" the

“ the Refuge of those, who are destitute of Book
 “ all others, distress’d and driven to Extre- II.
 “ mities, and who, being at the same time
 “ wicked Men, resolve to accomplish their
 “ Designs through Perjury towards the Gods,
 “ and Breach of Faith towards Men? We
 “ are not, O *Clearchus*! either so weak,
 “ or so void of Reason. When it was in
 “ our power to destroy you, why did we
 “ not attempt it? Be assur’d, the desire I had
 “ of approving my Fidelity to the *Greeks* was
 “ the Reason: And that, as *Cyrus* march’d
 “ against the King, relying on foreign For-
 “ ces, from the Pay he gave them; so I
 “ might return home supported by the same
 “ Troops, from the Obligations I had con-
 “ ferred on them. As to the many things, in
 “ which you may be of service to me, some
 “ of them you have mention’d; but I know,
 “ which is the greatest: It is the Prerogative
 “ of the King to wear ⁴⁶ an upright Turban
 “ upon

⁴⁶ Τιάραν ὀρθήν. Most Authors who treat of the Affairs of *Persia*, have taken notice of this Custom: But there is a Print of a *Persian* Monument found among the Ruins of *Persepolis* by *De Bruyn*, and given by *Gronovius* in his Notes upon *Herodotus*, to shew that *Herodotus* this is the very Monument the latter says *Darius Hy-* in *Thalia*. *staspes* caus’d to be erected in honour of his Horse and Groom, to whom he owed the Kingdom; I take no notice of the Reasons alledg’d by *Gronovius* to support his

BOOK " upon his Head; but, with your Assistance
 II. " possibly another may, with some Con-
 fidence, wear it in his Heart."

CLEARCHUS thought all he said to be true, and answer'd, " Since therefore
 " we have so many Motives to be Friends,
 " do not those, who, by Calumnies, en-
 " deavour to make us Enemies, deserve the
 " severest Punishment?" " If you, says *Tis-*
saphernes, with the rest of the Generals,
 " and Captains, think fit to come to me in
 " publick, I will acquaint you with those, who
 " aver that you have Designs against me and
 " my Army." " I will bring them all, says
 " *Clearchus*; and, at the same time, let you
 " know, in my turn, from whence I receiv-
 " ed my Information concerning you." As
 soon as this Conference was over, *Tissapher-*
nes shewed him great Civility, and, desiring
 him to stay, entertain'd him at Supper. The
 next day *Clearchus* returning to the Camp,
 made it manifest that he entertain'd very
 friendly Thoughts of *Tissaphernes*, and gave
 an Account of what he propos'd. He said,
 those

his Conjecture, which seems well founded, because this
 Monument is here exhibited with another view, name-
 ly to let the Reader see the difference of the Turbans
 worn by the Kings and Subjects of *Persia*.

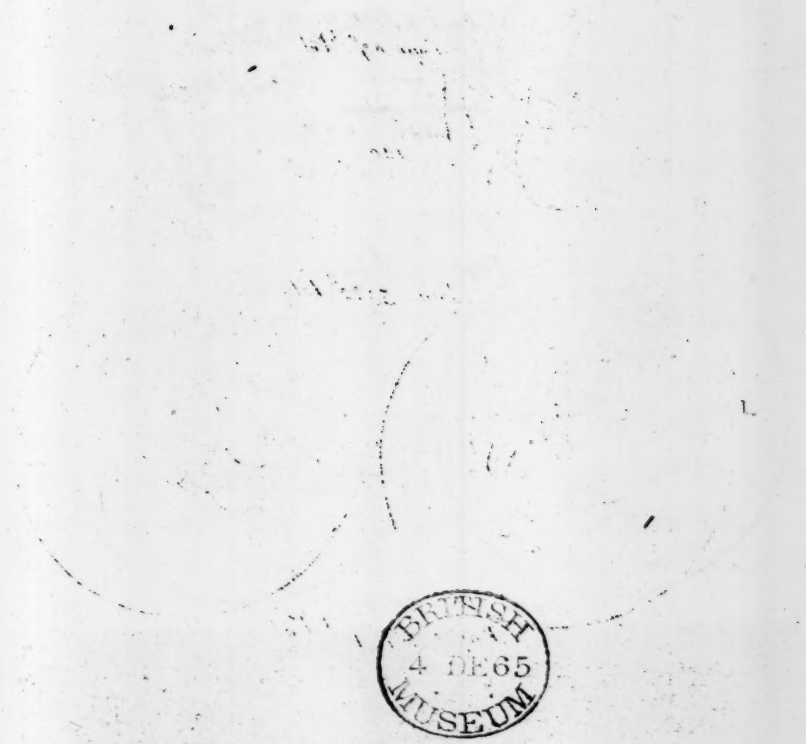
those *Tissaphernes* demanded, ought to go to him; and that the Persons who were found to be the Authors of these Calumnies, ought to be punish'd as Traitors and ill-affected to the rest of the *Greeks*: for he suspected *Menon* to be one of them, knowing that he and *Ariæus* had been in Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and that he was forming a Party against him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole Army to a dependence upon himself; and, by that means, to recommend himself to *Tissaphernes*. *Clearchus* also himself was no less solicitous to engage the Esteem of the whole Army, and to remove those, who oppos'd him. But some of the Soldiers, in contradiction to him, said, that all the Generals and Captains ought not to go, neither ought they to trust *Tissaphernes*. However *Clearchus* so strongly insisted upon it, that he prevail'd to have five Generals, and twenty Captains sent to him: About two hundred Soldiers followed, under colour of going to the Market.

WHEN they came to the Door of *Tissaphernes*, the Generals were called in: these were *Proxenus* a *Bæotian*, *Menon* a *Thes-
salian*,

BOOK *salian, Agias an Arcadian, Clearchus &*
 II. *Lacedæmonian, and Socrates an Achaian.*

The Captains staid without : Not long after, at the same Signal, those who were within, were apprehended, and those without, cut to pieces. After this, some of the *Barbarian* Horse, scouring the Plain, killed all the *Greeks* they met with, both Freeman and Slaves. The *Greeks*, from their Camp, seeing these Excursions of the Horse, were surpriz'd, and in doubt of what they were doing, 'till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian*, came flying from them, being wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands, and inform'd them of all that had pass'd. Upon this the *Greeks* were amaz'd, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their Camp, ran to their Arms. But they did not all come; only *Ariæus* with *Arteazus* and *Mithridates* came, Persons who had shewn the greatest Fidelity to *Cyrus*. However, the Interpreter of the *Greeks* said, he saw the Brother of *Tissaphernes* with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other *Persians* clad in Armour : these, when they drew near, order'd, if any Generals or Captains of the *Greeks* were present, they should advance, to the end, they

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Page 157. f.^{1re} Vol.



P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

they might acquaint them with the King's Pleasure. Upon this, the Generals, *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, and *Sophænetus*, a *Stymphalian*, went out of the Camp with great Caution; and with them *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, that he might learn what was become of *Proxenus*. (*Cheirisophus* happen'd to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting Provisions in some Village.) When they came within hearing, *Ariæus* said, "*Clearchus*, O *Greeks*! having been found guilty of a Violation both of his Oath, and of the Articles of Peace, is justly punish'd with death; while *Proxenus*, and *Menon*, for having given Information of his Designs, are in great honour. Of you the King demands your Arms, for he says they are his, as having belong'd to *Cyrus*, who was his ⁴⁷ Subject."

To this the *Greeks* made answer, *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*, speaking in the Name of the rest: "O *Ariæus*! thou most wicked
" of

⁴⁷ Δούλος. Literally his Slave; this, it seems, was the Style of the *Persian* Court, which not only treated their Subjects as Slaves, but had the Insolence to call them so.

Book “ of all Men, and the rest of you, who
 II. “ were Friends to *Cyrus*! have you no re-
 “ gard either to the Gods or Men? You,
 “ who after you have sworn to us to look
 “ upon our Friends and Enemies as your
 “ own, now conspire with *Tissaphernes*,
 “ the most impious and deceitful of all Men,
 “ to betray us: and having ⁴⁸ both destroyed
 “ those Persons, to whom you gave your
 “ Oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come
 “ with our Enemies to invade us?” To this
Ariaeus said, “ But it first appear’d that
 “ *Clearchus* was forming Designs against
 “ *Tissaphernes*, *Orontas*, and all the rest
 “ of us.” Upon this *Xenophon* replied, “ If
 “ *Clearchus*, contrary to his Oath, has been
 “ guilty

⁴⁸ Οἷς ᾤμνυτε ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε. *Hutchinson*, with great reason, finds fault with *Leunclavius* for translating this, *Sacramento confirmabatis vos planè periisse*; but takes no notice of the Difficulty arising from the Particle ὡς, which, I own, weighs so much with me, that I cannot persuade my self *Xenophon* wrote τῶς τε ἀνδρας αὐτῶς, οἷς ᾤμνυτε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε; at least not in the Sense he has translated it, *posteaquam viros ipsos, quibus dedistis Jusjurandum, perdidistis*. If, instead of ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, we might venture to read ἀπολωλέκοτες, without ὡς, I think the Period would be more intelligible: I believe it will be own’d, that ἀπολωλέκοτες agrees very well with προδεδωκότες in the following Sentence, and it seems to have been the Author’s Design to connect them together with the Particles τε and καί.

“ guilty of a Violation of the Peace, he is BOOK
 “ justly punish’d: for it is just that those II.
 “ who are guilty of Perjury, should be put
 “ to death. However, send *Proxenus* and
 “ *Menon* to us, since they are both your
 “ Benefactors, and our Commanders: For
 “ it is evident, that, being Friends to both
 “ of us, they will endeavour to advise that,
 “ which is best for both.” To this the *Bar-*
barians made no answer, but, having con-
 ferred together for a considerable time, they
 departed.

THE Generals being thus apprehended,
 were carried ⁴⁹ to the King, by whose Or-
 ders their Heads were cut off. One ⁵⁰ of
 them, *Clearchus*, was allowed by all that knew
 him to have been a Man both of a military
 Genius, and one who delighted in War to
 the last degree. For, as long as the *Lace-*
demonians were at war with the *Athenians*,
 he continued in the Service of his Country;
 but, after the Peace, he persuaded his Fel-
 low-Citizens, that the *Thracians* oppress’d
 the *Greeks*, and having prevail’d on the

M 2

Ephori,

⁴⁹ Ως βασιλεύ. See the 18th Annotation upon the
 first Book.

⁵⁰ Εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος. See the Introduction.

BOOK *Ephori* ⁵¹, by some means or other, he set
 II. fail with a design to make war upon the
 } *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Cherso-*
næsus and *Perinthus*. After his Departure
 the *Ephori*, for some reasons, chang'd their
 Minds, and recall'd him from the *Isth-*
mus: But he refused to obey them, and
 sail'd away for the *Hellespont*. Upon this
 he was condemn'd to death by the Ma-
 gistrates of *Sparta*, as guilty of Disobe-
 dience. And being now a banish'd Man,
 he comes to *Cyrus*, and by what means
 he gain'd his Confidence, has been men-
 tion'd in another place. *Cyrus* gave him ten
 thousand ⁵² Daricks. Having receiv'd this
 Money,

⁵¹ Παρὰ τῶν Εφόρων. The ancient Authors do not agree concerning the Person who instituted these Ma-
 gistrates. *Herodotus* attributes their Institution to *Ly-*
curgus, and *Xenophon* to him, jointly with the most
 considerable Citizens of *Sparta*. On the other hand,
Plutarch says *Theopompus*, who reign'd many Years af-
 ter *Lycurgus*, was the Author of it. However, this
 is certain, that the three Orders of the State, that is,
 the two Kings, the Senators, all the Magistrates, even
 during their Magistracy, and the People were subject
 to their Power. But the thing that gives the greatest
 Relief to the Reputation of their College, is, that it
 serv'd as a Model to the Institution of the *Roman Tri-*
bunes, who, like the *Ephori*, were only five in num-
 ber, 'till the Year of *Rome* 297, and the first of the
 81 Olympiad, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius* being Con-
 suls, when five more were added to them.

⁵² Δαρικαί. See the 11th Annotation upon the
 first Book.

Money, he did not give himself up to Indolence, but, raising an Army with it, made war upon the *Thracians*; and, overcoming them in Battle, plunder'd their Country, and continued the War, 'till *Cyrus* had occasion for his Army. He then departed with a design of attending him in his Expedition.

BOOK
II.

THESE therefore seem to be the Actions of a Man delighting in War⁵³, who, when it is in his power to live in Peace without Detriment or Dishonour, prefers War; when to live in Ease, chuses Labour, with a View to War; and when to enjoy Riches without danger, chuses rather, by making War, to diminish them: so that he spent his Money in War, as chearfully as if it had been in Gallantry, or any other Pleasure. So much he delighted in it. His Genius for War appeared by his Forwardness to expose himself, and to attack the Enemy either by Night or Day,

M 3

and

⁵³ Οτις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνῃ ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν. D'Ablandcourt has strangely mistaken this Passage, thus he has render'd it, *que pouvant vivre en Repos après la Paix, cherche la guerre aux dépens même de son honneur, & de sa vie*: This he says is stronger than the Text: but I believe the Reader will be of opinion, that instead of strengthening the Author's Sense, he has destroy'd it.

BOOK and by his Conduct in danger: As those
 II. who attended him upon all occasions, uni-
 versally acknowledged. He was said to have
 possess'd the Art of commanding, as far as
 could be expected from a Man of his Tem-
 per: for, being as capable, as any other,
 of taking care his Army was supplied with
 Provisions, and of providing them, he was
 not less so of inspiring those, who were pre-
 sent, with a Dread of disobeying *Clearchus*.
 This he effected by Severity; for his Look
 was stern, and his Voice harsh: He al-
 ways punish'd with Rigour, and frequently
 in Passion; so that he sometimes repented
 it. But he also inflicted Punishments with
 Deliberation, looking upon an Army with-
 out Discipline, to be of no service. He is
 reported to have said, that ³⁴ a Soldier ought
 to fear his Commander more than the Ene-
 my, if it is expected that he should do his
 Duty upon Guard, abstain from what be-
 longs to a Friend, or attack the Enemy with-
 out Reluctance. In Dangers the Men obeyed
 him

Livy.

³⁴ Ως δέοι στρατῶτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, &c. This
 Saying of *Clearchus* is imitated by *Livy*, where *Camil-
 lus*, having restor'd the *Roman* Army to its ancient Dis-
 cipline, *effecit*, says he, *ne hostis maxime timendus esset*.
D'Ablancourt has thought fit to leave out above half
 this Period, the reason he gives for it is, *parce qu'il ne
 faut rien ajouter à un bon mot*: but sure this is a liberty
 no Translator ought to indulge himself in.

him absolutely, nor ever desired to be commanded by any other; for they said his Sternness seem'd then chang'd to Chearfulness, and his Severity to Resolution: So that they look'd upon it no longer as Severity, but as their Preservation. However, when the Danger was over, and they had an opportunity of serving under other Commanders, many of them left him; for he was not in the least gracious, but always rough and cruel: so that the Soldiers were in the same Disposition to him, as Scholars to their Master: for none ever followed him out of Friendship, or Good-will. Those, who were appointed by his Country, or compelled through Want, or any other Necessity to serve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And, when they began to conquer under his Command, many things concurr'd to make them good Soldiers: for their Confidence in their own Strength, join'd to their Fear of him, made them observant. This was his Character as a Commander: but it was said that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died, he was about fifty Years of Age.

BOOK

II.

PROXENUS, the *Bæotian*, even from a Child, was desirous of becoming equal to great Employments; and to satisfy this desire, he gave a Sum of Money to ⁵⁵ *Gorgias* the *Leontine*. After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and, if he enter'd into the friendship of great Men, to return all Obligations, he engaged in this Enterprize with *Cyrus*, from whence he promis'd to himself great Reputation, great Power, and great Riches: Though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet on the other side his Conduct plainly shewed that

he

Diod. Sic.
12 B.

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cient Coins.

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⁵⁵ Γοργίας. This *Gorgias* was a celebrated Master of Eloquence. He so far surpass'd all the rest of his Profession, that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us he receiv'd no less from his Scholars than one hundred Minæ, that is, 1,322 : 18 : 4 Sterling. This *Gorgias*, it seems, was at the head of the Embassy which the *Leontines* sent to *Athens*, the second Year of the 88th Olympiad, to desire their Assistance against the *Syracusans*. In the first Audience he had of the *Athenians*, his Eloquence, or rather the Novelty of it, so enchanted that People, who were great Admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevail'd upon to engage in the *Sicilian* War, the Event of which gave them so fatal a Blow, they could never recover it. *Diodorus Siculus* says also, that he was the Inventor of the Art of Rhetoric, and the first, who made use of studied Figures and labour'd Antitheses of equal Length, and the same Termination; this manner of speaking, the same Author says, pleas'd at first from its Novelty, but was afterwards look'd upon as affected, and, if frequently practis'd, ridiculous.

he did not desire to gain any of them through Injustice: but that he ought to attain them with Justice and Honour, and not otherwise. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and a well-disciplin'd Army; but incapable of inspiring Respect, or Fear, and stood in greater Awe of his Men, than they of him; it being visible, that he was more afraid of disobliging them, than they of disobeying him. It was his opinion, that all that was requir'd to be, and seem to be equal to the Command, was to praise worthy Men, and not to praise the unworthy: for which reason he was belov'd by Men of Worth and Honour, while ill Men were for ever forming Designs against him, as against a Man easy to be circumvented. He was about thirty Years old, when he died.

MENON the *Thessalian*, did not either conceal his immoderate Desire of Riches; or his Desire of commanding, in order to increase them; or of being esteem'd for the same reason. He desir'd to be well with those in Power, that his Injustice might escape Punishment. He thought the shortest ways to accomplish his Designs were Perjury, Falshood,

BOOK Falshood, and Deceit ; and that Simplicity

II.

serv'd to have no Affection for any Man, and, where he profess'd a Friendship, it was visible he design'd to betray. He never spoke with Contempt of an Enemy, but was ever turning all those he convers'd with into ridicule. He never form'd any Design against the Possessions of an Enemy, (for he thought it difficult to rob those who were upon their guard) but look'd upon himself as the only Person that was sensible how very easy it is to seize the unguarded Possessions of a Friend. He stood in fear of those whom he observ'd to be guilty of Perjury and Injustice, as of Men well arm'd ; but practis'd upon Persons of Piety and Truth, as upon those, who are defenceless. And, as others value themselves upon Religion, Veracity, and Justice, so *Menon* valued himself upon being able to deceive, to invent Falshoods, and abuse his Friends : And look'd upon those as ignorant, who were without Guile. When he endeavour'd to gain the first place in any Man's Friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself, was by flandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed

obeyed by the Soldiers, by becoming an Ac-Book
 complice in their Crimes. He aimed at be- II.
 ing esteem'd and courted, by shewing that
 he had both the Power and the Will to
 commit great Injustice. If any one forsook
 him, he spoke of it as a favour, that, while
 he made use of his Service, he did not de-
 stroy him. Whatever is not publicly known
 in this Man's Character, may seem to be
 feign'd, but the following Particulars all
 the World is acquainted with. While he
 was in the Flower of his Youth he obtain'd
 the Command of the Mercenaries in the
 Service of *Aristippus*. At that Age also he
 was in great favour with *Ariæus*, a *Bar-*
barian, because he delighted in beautiful
 Youths: And before he himself had a Beard,
 he had a bearded Favourite, called *Thary-*
pas. When the rest of the Generals suf-
 fer'd for having made war against the King
 with *Cyrus*, he, though equally guilty, did
 not lose his Life; but was afterwards pu-
 nish'd with death by the King, not like
Clearchus, and the rest of the Generals,
 by losing his Head, which was look'd upon
 as the most honourable Death; but, as it is
 said, after he had been tortur'd for a whole
 Year, like a Malefactor.

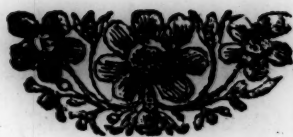
AGIAS

168 *The* EXPEDITION of CYRUS.

BOOK *AGIAS*, the *Arcadian*, and *Socrates*,

II. the *Achaian*, were both put to death at
the same time; these were without Re-
proach, both in War, and Friendship. They
were then about forty Years of Age.

The End of the Second Book.



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THE
EXPEDITION
OF
CYRUS.

BOOK III.



WE have, in the foregoing Discourse, BOOK III.
related the Actions of the *Greeks*
during the Expedition of *Cyrus*,
to the Battle, and what happen'd
after his Death, when the *Greeks* march'd
away with *Tissaphernes* upon the Peace.
After the Generals were apprehended, and
the Captains and Soldiers who accompa-
nied them, put to death, the *Greeks* were
in great distress: They consider'd they were
not

BOOK not far from the King's Palace, surrounded
 III. on all sides with many Nations and many
 Cities, all their Enemies; that no one would
 any longer supply them with Provisions;
 that they were distant from *Greece* above
 ten thousand Stadia, without a Guide to
 conduct them, and their Road thither in-
 tercepted by impassable Rivers; that even
 those *Barbarians*, who had serv'd under
Cyrus, had betrayed them, and that they
 were now left alone without any Horse to
 assist them. By which it was evident, that
 if they overcame the Enemy, they could
 not destroy a Man of them in the Pursuit,
 and if they themselves were overcome, not
 one of them could escape. These Reflec-
 tions so dishearten'd them, that few eat any
 thing that Evening, few made Fires, and
 many that Night never came to their ¹ Quar-
 ters, ² but laid themselves down, every Man
 in

¹ Ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. See the 19th Annotation upon
 the 2^d Book. Here it plainly signifies that part of the
 Camp, that was appointed for the Quarters of the se-
 veral Companies, particularly of the heavy-arm'd Men.
D'Ablancourt has left it out, as he generally does this
 Expression, where he meets with it.

² Ανεπαύετο δὲ ὅπῃ ἐτίχανεν ἕκαστος, ἢ δυνά-
 μεινοι καθύδιν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων,
 γυναικῶν, παίδων, ἃς ἢ ποτε ἐνόμιζον εἶτι ὄψεσθαι.
 This Period, so beautifully melancholly, is cruelly
 mangled

in the place where he happen'd to be, unable to sleep through Sorrow, and a Longing for their Country, their Parents, their Wives and Children, whom they never expected to see again : In this Disposition of Mind, they all laid down to rest.

THERE was in the Army an *Athenian*, by Name, *Xenophon*, who, without being a General, a Captain, or a Soldier, serv'd as a Voluntier : For having been long attach'd to *Proxenus* by the Rights of Hospitality, the latter sent for him from home, with a promise, if he came, to recommend him to *Cyrus*; from whom, he said, he expected greater Advantages, than from his own Country. *Xenophon* having read the Letter, consulted *Socrates* the *Athenian* concerning the Voyage, who, ³ fearing lest his Country might look upon his Attachment to *Cyrus* as criminal, because that Prince was thought to have espous'd the Interest of the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians* with great

mangled by *d'Ablancourt*, whose Translation I shall also transcribe, that the Reader may compare it with the Original. *Ils étoient si abbatus qu'ils ne pouvoient reposer, comme ne devant plus revoir ni femme, ni enfans, ni patrie.*

³ Καὶ ὁ Σοκράτης ὑποπτεύσας. See the Introduction.

BOOK great Warmth, advis'd *Xenophon* to go to

III. *Delphos*, and consult the God of the Place concerning the matter. *Xenophon* went thither accordingly, and ask'd *Apollo*, to which of the Gods he should offer Sacrifice, and address his Prayers, to the end that he might perform the Voyage he propos'd in the best and most reputable manner, and, after a happy Issue of it, return with safety. *Apollo* answer'd, that he should sacrifice to the proper Gods. At his Return, he acquainted *Socrates* with this Answer; who blamed him, because he had not ask'd *Apollo* in the first place, whether it were better for him to undertake this Voyage, than to stay at home: but, having himself first determin'd to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success: But, since says he, you have ask'd this, you ought to do what the God has commanded. *Xenophon* therefore, having offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods according to the Direction of the Oracle, set sail, and found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* at *Sardes* ready to march towards the *Upper Asia*. Here he was presented to *Cyrus*, and *Proxenus* pressing him to stay, *Cyrus* was no less earnest in persuading him, and

and assur'd him, that, as soon as the Expedition was at an end, he would dismiss him; this he pretended was design'd against the *Pisidians*.

Book
III.

XENOPHON therefore thus impos'd on, engag'd in the Enterprize, though *Proxenus* had no share in the Imposition, for none of the *Greeks*, besides *Clearchus*, knew it was intended against the King: But, when they arriv'd in *Cilicia*, every one saw * the Expedition was design'd against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of † a regard

* Ο Στόλῳ. See the 19th Annotation upon the first Book.

† Δι' αἰσχύνης δὲ ἀλλήλων. Where any number of Men are embarked in the same Design, they generally meet with success, but always deserve it, if they are once brought to be ambitious of one another's Praises, and to stand in awe of one another's Reproaches. *Homer*, who knew every Spring of the human Soul, was sensible how powerful a Motive this mutual Respect is to a proper Behaviour in a Day of Battle, when he makes *Agamemnon* say to his Men,

Ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμῖνας
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι, ἢ πέφανται.

Homer
II. ε.

By the way, 'tis from this Sense of the word αἰδῶς, that the *Latin* Authors have us'd *verecundia* to signify Respect.

BOOK regard both to one another, and to *Cyrus*, fol-

III. lowed him : and *Xenophon* was of this number. When the *Greeks* were in this distress, he had his share in the general Sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he had a Dream. He thought it thunder'd, and that a Flash of Lightning fell upon his paternal House, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and look'd upon his Dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engag'd in Difficulties and Dangers, he saw a great Light proceeding from *Jupiter*. On the other side, he was full of fear, when he consider'd that this Dream was sent by *Jupiter* the King, and that the Fire, by blazing all round him, might portend, that he should not be able to get out of the King's Territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with Difficulties.

HOWEVER the Events, which were consequent to this Dream, sufficiently explain the Nature of it ; for presently these Things happen'd : As soon as he awoke, the first Thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here ? The Night wears away, and, as soon as the Day appears, it is probable

the

ἐν
μὲν
que
So
Au
sho

the Enemy will come and attack us; and if we fall under the Power of the King, what can preserve us from being Spectators of the most tragical Sights, from suffering the most cruel Torments, and from dying with the greatest Ignominy? Yet no one makes Preparation for Defence, or takes any Care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in Quiet. From what City therefore do I expect a General to perform these things? What Age do I wait for? But, if I abandon myself to the Enemy this Day, I shall never live to see another. Upon this he rose, and first assembled the Captains who had serv'd under *Proxenus*: And, when they were together, he said to them, " Gentle-
" men! I can neither sleep, (which, I sup-
" pose, is your case also) nor lie any longer,
" when I consider the Condition to which
" we are reduc'd. For it is plain the Ene-
" my would not have declar'd War against
" us, had they not first made the necessary

N 2

" Pre-

ἂν Τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ ἔχῃ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόοντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ὑβρίζο- μένης ἀποθανεῖν; Thus translated by d'Ablancourt, quelle esperance nous reste-t'il que d'une mort cruelle? So pathetick a Description of the Miseries, which our Author had then in view, deserv'd, methinks, that he should have been more particular in his Translation.

BOOK " Preparations: while, on our side, none
III. " takes any care how we may resist them
" in the best manner possible. If we are
" remiss, and fall under the Power of
" the King, what have we to expect from
" him, who cut off the Head and Hand of
" his own Brother, even after he was dead,
" and fixed them upon a Stake? How then
" will he treat us, who have no support,
" and have made war against him, with a
" design to reduce him, from the Condi-
" tion of a King, to that of a Subject,
" and, if it lay in our power, to put him
" to death? Will he not try the power
" of every Extremity, to the End, that, by
" torturing us in the most ignominious
" manner, he may deter all Men from ever
" making war against him? We ought there-
" fore to do every thing rather than fall
" into his Hands. While the Peace lasted,
" I own, I never ceas'd to consider ourselves,
" as extremely miserable, and the King,
" with those who belong'd to him, equally
" happy: When I cast my Eyes around, and
" beheld how spacious and beautiful a Coun-
" try they were Masters of, how they a-
" bounded in Provisions, Slaves, Cattle,
" Gold, and rich Apparel; and on the
" other

Ump
and
Beau
d'Abb

“ other hand, reflected on the Situation of BOOK
 “ our Men, who had no Share of all these III.
 “ Advantages, without paying for them, }
 “ which I knew very few were any longer
 “ able to do, and that our Oaths forbad
 “ us to provide ourselves by any other
 “ means ; when I reflected, I say, on these
 “ things, I was more afraid of Peace than
 “ now I am of War. But, since they have
 “ put an end to the Peace, there seems to
 “ be an end also both of their Insolence,
 “ and our Jealousy : And these Advantages
 “ lie now as a Prize between us, to be
 “ given to the bravest : In this ⁷ Combat
 “ the Gods are the Umpires, who will,
 “ with Justice, declare in our favour ; for
 “ our Enemies have provok’d them by Per-
 “ jury, while we, surrounded with every
 “ thing to tempt us, have, with Constancy,
 “ abstain’d from all, that we might pre-
 “ serve our Oaths inviolate : So that, in my
 “ opinion, we have reason to engage in this
 “ Combat with greater Confidence than
 “ they. Besides, our Bodies are more patient
 “ of Cold, of Heat, and of Labour than theirs ;
 “ and

N 3

⁷ *Ἀγωνοθέται δ’ οἱ θεοί ἐσσι.* This alludes to the Umpires, who were chosen to preside at the Olympick and other Games : This Allusion, which gives great Beauty to the whole Passage, is entirely left out by *d’ Ablancourt.*

BOOK “ and our Minds, with the divine Assistance,
 III. “ more resolv’d: And if, as before, the Gods
 “ vouchsafe to grant us the Victory, their
 “ Men will be more obnoxious to Wounds
 “ and Death. But possibly others may also
 “ entertain these Thoughts: For Heaven’s
 “ sake then, let us not stay till those who do,
 “ come and encourage us to glorious Ac-
 “ tions, but let us prevent them, and excite
 “ even them to Virtue. Shew yourselves
 “ the bravest of all the Captains, and the
 “ most worthy to command of all the Ge-
 “ nerals. As for me, ⁸ if you desire to lead
 “ the way in this, I will follow you with
 “ Cheerfulness; and if you appoint me to
 “ be your Leader, I ⁹ shall not excuse my-
 “ self by reason of my Age, but think my-
 “ self even in the Vigour of it to repel an
 “ Injury.” Thus he spoke,

THE Captains, hearing this, all desir’d he would take upon him the Command, except a certain Person, by Name *Apollonides*, who affected to speak in the *Bæotian* Dialect.

This

⁸ Εἰ μὲν ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. The Reader will observe, that ἐξορμᾶω is here used neutrally, it was used actively a few Lines above.

⁹ Οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν. See the 10th Annotation upon the second Book, and particularly the Life of *Xenophon*.

This Man said, that, whoever propos'd any other means of returning to *Greece*, than by endeavouring to persuade the King to consent to it, talk'd impertinently; and at the same time began to recount the Difficulties they were engag'd in. But *Xenophon* interrupting him, said, "Thou most admirable Man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present, when the King, after the Death of *Cyrus*, exulting in his Victory, sent to us to deliver up our Arms, and when, instead of delivering them up, we march'd out ready to give him Battle, and encamp'd near him, what did he leave undone by sending Embassadors, begging Peace, and supplying us with Provisions, till he had obtain'd it? And afterwards, when our Generals and Captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their Arms, relying on the Peace, what has been their Treatment? Are not these unfortunate Men daily scourg'd, ¹⁰ tortur'd, and

¹⁰ ΚΕΝΤΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ. I have ventur'd to depart from the Latin Translators in rendering this Word; *Leunclavius* has said *vulneribus affecti*, and *Hutchinson vulnera passi*; *d'Ablancourt* has left it out: I have translated it *tortur'd*; in the same Sense *Xenophon*, a little above, speaking of the Usage the *Greeks* were to expect, if they

BOOK “ and insulted, and forbid even to die, though,”

III. “ I dare say, they earnestly desire it? When

“ you know all this, can you say that those,
 “ who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk
 “ impertinently, and dare you advise us to
 “ sue again to the King for favour? For
 “ my part, Gentlemen! I think we ought
 “ not to admit this Man any longer into
 “ our Company, but use him as he deserves,
 “ by removing him from his Command,
 “ and employing him in carrying our Bag-
 “ gage: for, by being a *Greek* with such a
 “ Mind, he is a Shame to his Country,
 “ and dishonours all *Greece*.”

THEN *Agasias* of *Stymphalus* said, “ This
 “ Man has no relation to *Bæotia*, or to any
 “ other Part of *Greece*; for to my knowledge,
 “ both his Ears are bor’d, like a *Lydian*.”
 Which was found to be true: so they expell’d
 him their Company. The rest went to all the
 Quarters of the Army, and where any Gene-
 rals

they fell into the King’s hands, says ἡμᾶς τὰ αἰσχίστα
 ἐκιστάμεν, and a little before that πάντα τὰ δεινότα-
 τα παθόντας. It is from this Sense of the word κεντέω,
 that *Suidas* tells us a Thief is called κέντρων, because,
 as he says, κέντρα were part of their Torture. κέν-
 τρων ὁ κλέπτης διὰ τὸ βασανιζομένοις τοῖς κλέπταις καὶ
 κέντρα προσφέρειν.

als were left, they call'd them up, where they were wanting, their Lieutenants, and where there were any Captains left, they call'd up them. When they were all assembled, they plac'd themselves ¹¹ before the Quarter, where the heavy-arm'd Men lay encamp'd; the Number of the Generals and Captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near Midnight. Then *Hieronimus* of *Elis*, the Oldest of all the Captains, who had serv'd under *Proxenus*, began thus: "Gentlemen! "we have thought proper, in the present "Juncture, both to assemble ourselves, "and call you together, to the end we "may, if possible, consider of something "to our Advantage. Do you, O *Xenophon*! represent to them what you have "laid before us." Upon this *Xenophon* said:

"WE are all sensible that the King, and "*Tissaphernes*, have caus'd as many of us as "they could to be apprehended, and it is "plain they design, by the same treacherous "means, if they can, to destroy the rest. "We

¹¹ Εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων. See the 19th Annotation upon the 2^d Book.

BOOK “ We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to
 III. “ attempt every thing, not only to prevent
 “ our falling under their Power, but, if
 “ possible, to subject them to ours. Know
 “ then, that, being assembled in so great
 “ Numbers, you have the fairest of all Op-
 “ portunities ; for all the Soldiers fix their
 “ Eyes on you: if they see you dishearten’d,
 “ their Courage will forsake them ; but, if
 “ you appear resolute yourselves, and ex-
 “ hort them to do their Duty, be assur’d,
 “ they will follow you, and endeavour to
 “ imitate your Example. It seems also rea-
 “ sonable that you should excel them in
 “ some degree, for you are their Generals,
 “ their Leaders, and their Captains: And,
 “ as in time of Peace you have the Ad-
 “ vantage of them both in Riches and Ho-
 “ nours, ¹² so now in time of War, you
 “ ought

¹² Καὶ νῦν τόινυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιῶν δεῖ ὑμᾶς
 οὗτους ἀμείνους τε τῷ πλήθους εἶναι, καὶ προβλεῦν τάτων,
 καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν πᾶς δέη. *D’Ablancourt* has left out
 every Tittle of this fine Period, the reason he gives for
 it in his own Words, is, *parce qu’elle est déjà exprimée* :
 I am afraid the Reader will not think that Reason
 to have much weight. The *Attick* Writers, when
 they speak of their own Affairs, always use the word
 προβάλειν, for an Act pass’d by the Senate, before
 it was sent down to the People ; for the same reason
 the *Greek* Writers of the *Roman* History call a *Senatus*
consultum προβάλειν, and this Sense seems to agree
 better

ought to challenge the Pre-eminence in Book
 Courage, in Counsel, and, if necessary, III.
 in Labour. In the first place then, it
 is my Opinion, that you will do great
 service to the Army, if you take care
 that Generals and Captains are immedi-
 ately chosen in the room of those who
 are slain: Since without Chiefs nothing
 either great or profitable can indeed be
 achiev'd upon any occasion, but least of
 all in War. For, as Discipline preserves
 Armies, so the want of it has already
 been fatal to many. After you have ap-
 pointed as many Commanders, as are
 necessary, I should think it highly rea-
 sonable for you to assemble and encou-
 rage the rest of the Soldiers; for no
 doubt you must have observed, as well as I,
 how dejectedly they came to their Quarters,
 and how heavily they went upon Guard:
 So that, while they are in this Disposition,
 I don't know what Service can, either
 by

better with διαφέρειν and ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε, which our
 Author applies to the Generals a few Lines above, and
 which seem very naturally to introduce ἀμείνους εἶναι,
 προβαλεῖν, and προπονεῖν: The Latin Translators have
 given it another Sense; Leunclavius has said *horum*
causâ Consilia suscipienda, and Hutchinson *pro iis Con-*
silia capere; the Decision therefore is left to the Rea-
 der.

BOOK " by Night or Day, be expected from them.
 III. " They have at present nothing before their
 " Eyes, but Sufferings, if any one could
 " turn their Thoughts to Action, it would
 " greatly encourage them. For you know,
 " that, neither Numbers nor Strength give
 " the Victory : but that side which, with
 " the Assistance of the Gods, attacks with
 " the greatest Resolution, is generally ir-
 " resistable. I have taken notice also, that
 " those Men who in War seek to preserve
 " their Lives at any rate, commonly die with
 " Shame and Ignominy : while those who
 " look upon Death as common to all, and
 " unavoidable, and are only solicitous to
 " die with honour, oftner arrive at old Age,
 " and while they live, live happier. As
 " therefore we are sensible of these things, it
 " behoves us at this critical juncture, both
 " to act with Courage ourselves, and to ex-
 " hort the rest to do the same." Here he
 ended.

AFTER him *Cheirisophus* said : " Before
 " this time, O *Xenophon* ! I knew no more
 " of you than that you were an *Athenian* :
 " but now I commend both your Words
 " and

" and Actions, and wish we had many in Book
 " the Army like you; for it would be a III.
 " general good. And now, Gentlemen!
 " says he, let us lose no time: Those
 " of you, who want Commanders, depart
 " immediately and chuse them; and when
 " that is done, come into the middle of
 " the Camp, and bring them with you.
 " After that, we will call the rest of the
 " Soldiers hither: and let *Tolmides* the
 " Cryer, says he, attend." Saying this,
 he rose up, that what was necessary, might
 be transacted without delay. After this *Ti-*
masion a *Dardanian* was chosen General in
 the room of *Clearchus*, *Xanthicles* an *A-*
chaian in the room of *Socrates*, *Cleanor* an
Orchomenian in the room of *Agias* an *Arca-*
dian, *Philysius* an *Achaian* in the room of
Menon, and *Xenophon* an *Athenian* in that
 of *Proxenus*.

As soon as the Election was over, it be-
 ing now near break of Day, the Officers ad-
 vanc'd to the middle of the Camp, and
 resolv'd first to appoint Out-guards, and
 then to call the Soldiers together. When
 they were all assembled, *Cheirisophus*, the
Lacedemonian first got up, and spoke as
 follows:

BOOK follows: "Soldiers! we are at present un-

III. "der great Difficulties, being depriv'd of such
 "Generals, Captains, and Soldiers: Besides,
 "the Forces of *Ariæus*, who were before
 "our Auxiliaries, have betrayed us. How-
 "ever, we ought to emerge out of our pre-
 "sent Circumstances, like brave Men, and
 "not be cast down, but endeavour to re-
 "deem ourselves by a glorious Victory. If
 "that is impossible, let us die with honour,
 "and never fall alive under the power of
 "the Enemy: for, in that case, we should
 "suffer such things, as I hope the Gods
 "keep in store for them."

AFTER him *Cleanor* of *Orchomenus* rose
 up, and said, "You see, O Soldiers! the Per-
 "jury and Impiety of the King, as well as the
 "Perfidy of *Tissaphernes*, who amus'd us
 "by saying that he liv'd in the Neighbour-
 "hood of *Greece*, and should, of all things,
 "be most desirous to carry us in safety thither:
 "It was He that gave us his Oath to perform
 "this, He that pledg'd his Faith, He that
 "betrayed us, and caus'd our Generals to
 "be apprehended: And this he did in de-
 "fiance even of ¹³ *Jupiter* the Avenger of
 "violated

¹³ Διὸς ἔρινον. See the 12th Annotation upon the
 first Book.

“ violated Hospitality; for, having enter-
 “ tain’d *Clearchus* at his Table, by these
 “ Arts he first deceiv’d, and then destroy’d
 “ our Generals. *Ariæus* also, whom we
 “ offer’d to place upon the Throne, with
 “ whom we were engag’d by a mutual Ex-
 “ change of Faith not to betray one an-
 “ other; this Man, I say, without either
 “ Fear of the Gods, or Respect for the Me-
 “ mory of *Cyrus*, though, of all others the
 “ most esteem’d by him when alive, now
 “ revolts to his greatest Enemies, and en-
 “ deavours to distress us, who were his
 “ Friends. But of these may the Gods take
 “ Vengeance! It behoves us, who have these
 “ things before our Eyes, not only to take
 “ care that these Men do not again betray us,
 “ but also to fight with all possible Bravery,
 “ and submit to what the Gods shall de-
 “ termine.”

THEN *Xenophon* rose up, dress’d for the
 War in the most gorgeous Armour he could
 provide, for he thought, if the Gods granted
 him Victory, these Ornaments would be-
 come a Conqueror, and if he were to die,
 they would decorate his Fall. He be-
 gan in the following manner: “ *Cleanor*
 “ has

BOOK " has laid before you the Perjury and Treachery of the *Barbarians*: which, to be sure, you yourselves are no Strangers to. " If therefore we have any Thoughts of trying their Friendship again, we must be under great Concern, when we consider what our Generals have suffer'd, who by trusting to their Faith, put themselves in their power. But, if we propose to take Revenge of them with our Swords for what they have done, and persecute them for the future with War in every shape; we have, with the Assistance of the Gods, many fair Prospects of Safety." While he was speaking, one of the Company sneez'd, upon this the Soldiers all at once ador'd the God. Then *Xenophon* said, " Since, O Soldiers! while we were speaking of Safety, *Jupiter* the Preserver, sent us an ¹⁴ Omen, I think we ought to make a Vow to offer Sacrifice to this God, in

" Thanksgiving

¹⁴ Οἰωνὸς τῷ Διὸς τῷ Σωτῆρι. Οἰωνὸς is here taken for the Omen itself; in which Sense we find it in that noble Sentiment of *Hector* to *Polydamas*,

Homer
Il. μ.

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Anthol.
2 B. 12 c.

This Superstition of looking upon sneezing as ominous, is very ancient, and to be met with in many *Greek* Authors; possibly it may have given rise to the modern Custom of saying *God bless you!* upon that occasion.

“ Thanksgiving for our Preservation in that BOOK
 “ Place, where we first reach the Territo- III.
 “ ries of our Friends; and also to the rest
 “ of the Gods, in the best manner we are
 “ able. And whoever, adds he, is of this
 “ Opinion, let him hold up his Hand:” and
 they all held up their Hands; then made
 their Vows, and sung the Pæan. After they
 had performed their Duty to the Gods, he
 went on thus:

“ I was saying that we had many fair Pro-
 “ spects of Safety. In the first place we have
 “ observ’d the Oaths, to which we called the
 “ Gods to witness, while our Enemies have
 “ been guilty of Perjury, and have violated
 “ both their Oaths and the Peace. This be-
 “ ing so, we have reason to expect the Gods
 “ will declare against them, and combat on
 “ our side; and They have it in their power,
 “ when they think fit, soon to humble the
 “ High, and, with ease, to exalt the Low,
 “ though in distress. Upon this occasion, I
 “ shall put you in mind of the Dangers our
 “ Ancestors were involv’d in, in order to con-
 “ vince you that it behoves you to be brave,
 “ and that those who are so, are preserv’d
 “ by the Gods amidst the greatest Calami-
 ties:

BOOK " ties: " For, when the *Persians*, and
 III. " their Allies, came with a vast Army to
 " destroy *Athens*, the *Athenians*, by dar-
 " ing to oppose them, overcame them:
 " And having made a Vow to *Diana* to
 " sacrifice as many Goats to her as they
 " killed of the Enemy, when they could
 " not find enow, they resolv'd to sacrifice
 " five hundred every Year; and even to this
 " Day they offer Sacrifice in Thanksgiving
 " for that Victory. " Afterwards, when
 " *Xerxes*

¹⁵ Ελθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν. This was the first Expedition of the *Persians* against the *Greeks*, when under the Command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, they invaded their Country, and were defeated by *Miltiades* at the Battle of *Marathon*. This Invasion seems to have been occasion'd by the twenty Ships which the *Athenians* sent to *Miletus*, under the Command of *Melanthius*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, to assist the *Ionians* against the *Persians*; this, and their peremptory Refusal to receive *Hippias*, their Tyrant, who had fled to *Persia* for Refuge, provok'd *Darius Hystaspes* to send a powerful Fleet to invade *Athens*, the Success of which has been mention'd. In this Defeat the *Persians* lost six thousand four hundred Men, and the *Athenians* with their Allies, the *Plataeans*, only one hundred and ninety-two: but on the *Persian* side fell *Hippias*, and lost that Life in the Field, which had been long due to the Sword of Justice. This Battle was fought on the sixth Day of the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, (with us, *September*) the third Month from the Summer Solstice, and the third Year of the seventy-second Olympiad, *Phenippus* being Archon, and four Years before the Death of *Darius*.

¹⁶ Ἐπειτα δὲ Ξέρξης. This is the second Expedition of the *Persians* against the *Greeks*, in which *Xerxes*

Ib. in
Erato.
Plutarch
in Camil-
lus.
Arundel
Marble
Ep. 62.
Severus
Sulpicius,
2 B. Holy
History.
Thucyd.
1 B.

* *Xerxes* invaded *Greece* with an innumerable Army, then it was that our Ancestors overcame the Ancestors of these very Men, both by Sea and Land; of which the Trophies, that were erected upon that occasion, are lasting Monuments still to be seen. But of all Monuments the most considerable is the Liberty of those Cities, in which you have receiv'd your Birth and Education : for you pay Adoration to no other

BOOK III.

O 2

" Master

Xerxes himself commanded : The Year in which this was undertaken, was the tenth from that, in which the Battle of *Marathon* was fought. *Xenophon* had reason to call this Army innumerable, since *Herodotus* makes it amount to about three Millions ; which Number is express'd in the Epitaph that was inscrib'd on the Monument erected at *Thermopylae*, in honour of those *Greeks* who died there in the Service of their Country. This Inscription says, that in that Place four thousand *Peloponnesians* engag'd three Millions of the Enemy ; the Words are these,

Herodotus
in Poly-
hymnia.

Μηρίασι ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσθ' χιλιάδες τέτορες.

This seems very authentick, though I am sensible that *Diodorus Siculus* has διηκοσίαις instead of τριηκοσίαις : *Sicul. 2 B.* However, an Army of two Millions of Men will, I am afraid, scarce gain that general Credit, which possibly it may deserve. The Victories here hinted at by *Xenophon*, which the *Athenians*, with their Allies, gain'd over the *Persians*, by Sea and Land, were, *Artemisium* and *Salamine*, *Plataea* and *Mycale*, the two last being gain'd the same Day, that is, the third of the Attick Month *Boëdromion*, September, a Day, it seems, auspicious to the Cause of Liberty, the first in *Bæotia*, and the last at *Mycale*, a Promontory of *Ionia*.

Herodotus
in *Urania*.
*Ib. in Cal-
liope.*
Plutarch
in *Camil-
lus*, and of
the *Glory*
of the *A-
thenians*.
Herodotus
in *Calliope*.

Book " Master but the Gods. From such Ancestors
 III. " are you descended: neither can I
 " say that you are a dishonour to them,
 " since, within these few Days, you ¹⁷ engaged
 " the Descendants of those Men, many
 " times superior to you in number, and,
 " with the Assistance of the Gods, defeated
 " them. Then you fought to place *Cyrus*
 " on the Throne, and in his Cause
 " fought bravely: Now your own Safety
 " is at stake, you ought certainly to shew
 " more Courage and Alacrity. You have
 " also reason now to entertain a greater
 " Confidence in your own Strength than
 " before; for though you were then unacquainted
 " with the Enemy, and saw them
 " before you in vast numbers, however you
 " dared to attack them with the Spirit of
 " your Ancestors: whereas now you have
 " had Experience of them, and are sensible
 " that, though they exceed you many
 " times in number, they dare not stand before
 " you, why should you any longer
 " fear

¹⁷ ΑΥΤΙΤΑΞΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΕΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΕΣΥΓΟΝΟΙΣ—ΕΝΙΚΑΤΕ.
 This is ridiculously translated by *d'Ablancourt*, *vous avez vaincu les Descendants de Xerxes en Bataille rangée*. *Xerxes* must indeed have had a numerous Posterity, if the whole Army of *Artaxerxes* were his Descendants; but *οι εκεινων εσυγοναι* visibly signifies the Descendants of those *Persians* who were defeated under *Xerxes*.

“ fear them? Neither ought you to look
 “ upon it as a Disadvantage, that the *Bar-* Book
 “ *barians* belonging to *Cyrus*, who, be- III.
 “ fore fought on your side, have now for-
 “ faken you ; for they are yet worfe Sol-
 “ diers than those we have already over-
 “ come. They have left us therefore, and
 “ are fled to them : and it is our Advantage
 “ that those who are the first to fly, should
 “ be found in the Enemy’s Army rather
 “ than in our own. If any of you are
 “ dishearten’d because we have no Horse,
 “ in which the Enemy abound, let them
 “ consider that ten thousand Horse are no
 “ more than ten thousand Men; for no one
 “ was ever killed in an Action by the Bite
 “ or Kick of a Horse. The Men do every
 “ thing that is done in Battle. But further,
 “ we are steadier upon the Ground than they
 “ on Horseback ; for they, hanging upon
 “ their Horses, are afraid not only of us, but
 “ also of falling ; while we, standing firm-
 “ ly upon the Ground, strike those who
 “ approach us, with greater Force, and a
 “ surer Aim. The Horse have but one
 “ Advantage over us, they can fly with
 “ greater Security. But if you are confi-
 “ dent of your Strength in Battle, yet look

BOOK
III.

“ upon it as a Grievance that *Tissaphernes*
 “ will no longer conduct us, or the King
 “ supply us with a Market. Consider which
 “ is the most advantageous, to have *Tissa-*
 “ *phernes* for our Conductor, who, 'tis plain
 “ has betrayed us, or such Guides as we
 “ shall make choice of, who will be sensi-
 “ ble that, if they mislead us, they must
 “ answer it with their Lives. Consider also
 “ whether it is better for us to purchase,
 “ in the Markets they provide, small Mea-
 “ sures for great Sums of Money, which
 “ we are no longer able to furnish, or, if
 “ we conquer, to make use of no other
 “ Measure but our Will. If you are con-
 “ vinc'd that these things are best in the
 “ way they are in, but think the Rivers
 “ are not to be repass'd, and that you have
 “ been greatly deluded in passing them, con-
 “ sider with yourselves, whether the *Barba-*
 “ *rians* have not taken very wrong Measures
 “ even in this: For all Rivers, though at a
 “ distance from their Springs, they may be
 “ impassable, yet if you go to their Sources,
 “ you will find them so easily fordable, as
 “ not even to wet your Knees. But, if the
 “ Rivers refuse us Passage, and no Guide
 “ appears to conduct us, even in that case
 “ we

“ we ought not to be dishearten’d : for we BOOK
 “ know that the *Myfians*, who are certain- III.
 “ ly not braver Men than ourselves, inhabit
 “ many large and rich Cities in the King’s
 “ Territories againſt his Will. The *Pifidians*,
 “ we alſo know, do the ſame. We have our
 “ ſelves ſeen the *Lycaonians*, who, after
 “ they had made themſelves Maſters of the
 “ ſtrong Places that command the Plains,
 “ enjoy the Product of the Country. And
 “ I ſhould think we ought not yet to be-
 “ tray a deſire of returning home ; but pre-
 “ pare every thing as if we propos’d to ſet-
 “ tle here : for I am well aſſur’d that the
 “ King would grant many Guides to the
 “ *Myfians*, and give them many Hoſtages,
 “ as a Security, to conduct them out of his
 “ Territories without fraud ; he would even
 “ level the Roads for them, if they inſiſted
 “ upon being ſent away in Chariots. And
 “ I am convinc’d he would, with great
 “ Alacrity, do the ſame for us, if he
 “ ſaw us dispos’d to ſtay here : But I am
 “ afraid, if once we learn to live in Idle-
 “ neſs, and Plenty, and converſe with the
 “ fair and ſtately Wives and Daughters of
 “ the *Medes* and *Persians*, we ſhall, like

BOOK " the ¹⁸ *Lotophagi*, forget to return home,
 III. " It seems therefore to me both just and
 " reasonable

¹⁸ Ὡςπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι. This Tradition seems deriv'd from *Homer*, who says that those who eat of the Lotus never think of returning home,

Homer
Odyss. I.

Τῶν δ' ἔστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
 Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, ὅδ' ἔνεσθαι.

Eustathius in his Explication of this Passage quotes many Authors, but, I think, none whose Account of the Lotus seems so satisfactory as that of *Herodotus*, who says that when the Nile overflows the Country, there grow in the Water great Quantities of Lillies, which the *Egyptians* call Lotus's; these, he says, they dry in the Sun, and of the Heads of them, which are like the Heads of Poppies, they make Bread; the Root of it, he says, is also eatable and sweet; he adds, that it is round, and about the Size of an Apple.
 4 B. c. 3. But there is another kind of Lotus, describ'd by *Theophrastus*, and, after him, by *Pliny*. This is a Tree
Plin. N.H. of the Size of a Pear-Tree, or something less, εὐμέγε-

θες, ἡλίκου ἄπιϑ, ἢ μικρὸν ἑλαττον, *magnitudo quæ Piro*, says *Pliny*; the Leaves are jagged, like those of the *Ilex*, Φύλλον δὲ ἐντομαῖς ἔχον, καὶ πρινωδες, thus translated by *Pliny*, *incisuræ folio crebriores, quæ Ilicis videntur*. *Theophrastus*, and his Translator *Pliny*, thus pursue the Description; the Wood is black, τὸ μὲν ξύλον, μέλαν, *ligno color niger*. There are different Kinds of this Plant distinguish'd by the difference of their Fruit, γένη δὲ αὐτοῦ πλείω διαφορὰς ἔχοντα τοῖς καρποῖς, *differentiæ plures eaque maxime fructibus fiunt*. The Fruit is like a Bean, and changes its Colour, as it ripens, like Grapes: The Fruit of this Lotus grows opposite to one another, like Myrtle-Berries, and thick upon the Boughs; ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἡλίκου κύαμῳ πεπαινεται δὲ, ὥςπερ οἱ βότερες, μεταβάλλων τὰς χροιάς. Φύεται δὲ καθάπερ τὰ μύρτα παράλληλα· πυκνὸς ἐστὶ τῶν βλαστῶν. *Magnitudo huic Fabæ, color ante maturitatem alius atque alius, sicut in uvis; nascitur densus in ramis*

“ reasonable that we first endeavour to return Book
 “ to Greece, and to our Families, and let our III.

“ Country-

*ramis myrti mado: Theophrastus adds that the Fruit is sweet, pleasant to the Taste, and without any ill Quality; on the contrary, that it helps Digestion: The most delicious are those that have no Stone, which one of the Kinds has not; he says the Inhabitants also make Wine of them, γλυκύς ἡδύς καὶ αἰωνής καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τὴν κοιλίαν ἀγαθόν. ἡδίων δὲ ὁ ἀπύρηνος ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτου γένος. ποιῶσι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐξ αὐτῶν. Tam dulci ibi Cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hospitali advenarum oblivione Patriæ. Ferunt ventris non sentire morbum, qui eum mandant. Melior sine interiora Nucleo, qui in altero genere offeus videtur; vinum quoque exprimitur illi. I have been so particular in translating the Description of this Plant, because I have never yet met with an Account of it in any modern Writer, that agreed with this given by Theophrastus; and, what is more extraordinary, Monsieur Maillet, who was many Years Consul at Cairo, says he never saw any Plant in that Country, that had any Resemblance to the Lotus of the Ancients: I have read the Description of the Lotus given by the polite and learned Author of the *Speṣtacle de la Nature*, which agrees, no doubt, very well with the *Nelumbo* of the *East-Indies*, but, I believe, he will own, that it does not, in all respects, answer this Description of *Theophrastus*. But there seems to be a third kind of Lotus, upon which the Horses belonging to the Companions of *Achilles* fed during his Inaction,*

—— Ἱπποὶ δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος
 Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἐλεῶθρεπτόν τε σέλινου
 Ἐσασαν.

Homer
 Il. B.

This is thought to be a kind of Trefoil, and this, I imagine, was the Lotus that, together with Saffron and Hyacinths, form'd the Couch of *Jupiter* and *Juno* upon a very amiable Occasion,

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθών Διᾶ φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
 Λωτὸν θ' ἐρσήνεται, ἰδὲ κρόκον, ἡδ' ὑάκινθον
 Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν.

Il. ε.

BOOK

III.

“ Countrymen see that they live in volun-
“ tary Poverty, since it is in their power to
“ bring their Poor hither, and enrich them:
“ For all these Advantages, Gentlemen! are
“ the Rewards of Victory. The next thing,
“ I shall mention to you, is in what manner we
“ may march with the greatest Security, and,
“ if necessary, fight with the greatest Advan-
“ tage. In the first place, continu’d he, I think
“ we ought to burn all the Carriages, that
“ the Care of them may not influence our
“ march, but that we may be directed in it
“ by the Advantage of the Army. After
“ that, we ought to burn our Tents also;
“ for they are troublesome to carry, and
“ of no use either in fighting, or in sup-
“ plying ourselves with Provisions. Let us
“ also rid ourselves of all superfluous Bag-
“ gage, and reserve only those things, that
“ are of use in War, or for our Meat and
“ Drink: To the end as many of us, as
“ possible, may march in their Ranks, and
“ as few be employed in carrying the Bag-
“ gage: For the Conquer’d, you know,
“ have nothing they can call their own; and,
“ if we conquer, we ought to look upon
“ the Enemy as Servants to be employed in
“ carrying our Baggage. It now remains
“ that

“ that I speak to that which is, in my opi-
 “ nion, of the greatest Consequence. You
 “ see that even the Enemy did not dare to
 “ declare War against us, ’till they had seiz’d
 “ our Generals, for they were sensible, that,
 “ while we had Commanders, and yielded
 “ Obedience to them, we were able to con-
 “ quer them : but, having seiz’d our Com-
 “ manders, they concluded that we should,
 “ from a want of Command and Discipline,
 “ be destroy’d. It is necessary therefore that
 “ our present Generals should be more care-
 “ ful than the former, and the Soldiers more
 “ observant, and more obedient to Them
 “ than to their Predecessors; and, if you
 “ make an Order, that whoever of you hap-
 “ pens to be present, shall assist the Com-
 “ mander in chastising those who are guilty
 “ of Disobedience, it will be the most ef-
 “ fectual means to frustrate the Designs of
 “ the Enemy: for from this Day, instead of
 “ one *Clearchus*, they will find ¹⁹ a thousand,
 “ who

¹⁹ Μυρίας ὄψονται. Μυρία πολλὰ, καὶ ἀναρίθμητα.
 μύρια δὲ, ὁ ἀριθμός. *Suidas*. *Sexcenti* is used in the
 same manner in *Latin*, to signify an indefinite Number;
 I have translated μυρίας a thousand, because I think our
 Language makes use of this Number in that Sense : In
French cent has the same effect, for which reason I was
 surpriz’d d’*Ablancourt* did not say *ils en verront renâitre*
cent, rather than *dix mille*.

BOOK " who will suffer no Man to neglect his
 III. " Duty. But it is now Time to make an
 " End, for it is probable the Enemy will
 " presently appear ; and, if you approve of
 " any thing I have said, ratify it immediate-
 " ly, that you may put it in Execution. But,
 " if any other Person thinks of any thing
 " more proper, though a private Man, let
 " him propose it ; for our Preservation is
 " a general Concern."

AFTER that *Cheirisophus* said, " If it is
 " necessary to add any thing to what *Xeno-*
 " *phon* has laid before us, it may be done
 " by and by : At present I think we ought to
 " ratify what he has propos'd, and, whoever
 " is of that opinion, let him hold up his
 " Hand : " and they all held up their Hands.
 Then *Xenophon*, rising up again, said, " Hear
 " then, O Soldiers ! what, in my opinion,
 " we are to expect. It is evident that we
 " must go to some place where we may
 " get Provisions. I am inform'd there are
 " many fair Villages not above twenty Sta-
 " dia from hence : I should not therefore be
 " surpriz'd if the Enemy, like cowardly
 " Dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite
 " those

“ those who pass by, but fly from those BOOK
 “ who pursue them, should also follow us III.
 “ when we begin to move. Possibly there-
 “ fore we shall march with greater Safety,
 “ if we dispose the heavy-arm'd Men in an
 “ hollow Square, to the end the Baggage,
 “ and the great number of those who be-
 “ long to it, may be in greater Security.
 “ If then we now appoint the proper Persons
 “ to command the Front, each of the Flanks,
 “ and the Rear, we shall not have to con-
 “ sider of this, when the Enemy appears ;
 “ but shall presently be ready to execute
 “ what we have resolv'd. If any other Per-
 “ son has any thing better to propose, let
 “ it be otherwise : If not, let *Cheirisophus*
 “ command the Front, ²⁰ since he is a *La-*
 “ *cedæmonian* ; let two of the oldest Ge-
 “ nerals command the Flanks ; and *Timasion*
 “ and myself, who are the youngest, will,
 “ for the present, take charge of the Rear.
 “ Afterwards, when we have had Experience
 “ of this Disposition, we may consider what
 “ is best to be done, as occasion offers. If
 “ any one thinks of any thing better, let
 “ him

²⁰ Επειδὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστίν. The reason why *Xenophon* does this Honour to the *Lacedæmonians*, will appear in the Introduction.

BOOK " him mention it." But no body opposing
 III. what he offer'd, he said, " Let those who
 { " are of this Opinion, hold up their Hands :"
 so this was resolv'd. " Now, says he, you
 " are to depart, and execute what is de-
 " termin'd : And whoever among you de-
 " sires to return to his Family, let him re-
 " member to fight bravely, (for that is the
 " only means to effect it :) Whoever has
 " a mind to live, let him endeavour to
 " conquer ; for the part of the Conqueror
 " is to inflict Death, that of the Conquer'd
 " to receive it. And if any among you
 " covet Riches, let him endeavour to over-
 " come : for the Victorious not only pre-
 " serve their own Possessions, but acquire
 " those of the Enemy."

AFTER he had said this, they all rose up, and departing, burnt their Carriages, and Tents; as for the superfluous part of their Baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the Fire. After this they went to Dinner. While they were at Dinner, *Mithridates* advanced with about thirty Horse, and, desiring the Generals might come within hearing, he said, " O *Greeks!* I was faithful to *Cyrus*, as
 " you

“ you yourselves know, and now wish well BOOK

“ to you ; and do assure you that while I re- III.

“ main here, I am under great Apprehen-

“ sions. So that if I saw you taking sa-

“ lutary Resolutions, I would come over

“ to you and bring all my People with me.

“ Inform me therefore, of what you re-

“ solve, for I am your Friend and Well-

“ wisher, and desire to join you in ²¹ your

“ march.” After the Generals had consulted

together, they thought proper to return this

Answer, *Cheirisophus* speaking in the Name

of the rest. “ We resolve, says he, if we

“ are suffer’d to return home, to march

“ through the Country with as little damage

“ to it as possible ; but, if any one opposes

“ our march, to fight our way through in

“ the best manner we are able.” *Mithridates*

upon this endeavour’d to shew how impos-

sible it was for them to return in safety, with-

out the King’s Consent. This render’d him

suspected, besides, one belonging to *Tissapher-*

nes was in his Company, as a Spy upon him.

From this time forward the Generals deter-

min’d, that they would admit of no further

Treaty while they continued in the Enemy’s

Country : for, by coming in this manner,

they

²¹ Τὸν ἑόλον. See the 19th Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK they debauched not only the Soldiers, but

III. *Nicharchus*, an *Arcadian*, one of the Captains, who deserted to them that Night, with about twenty Men.

As soon as the Soldiers had din'd, the Army pass'd the River *Zabatus*, and march'd in Order of Battle, with the Baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle : They had not gone far, before *Mithridates* appear'd again with about two hundred Horse, and four hundred Archers and Slingers very light, and fit for Expedition. He advanc'd as a Friend ; but, when he came near, immediately both the Horse and Foot discharg'd their Arrows ; the Slingers also made use of their Slings, and wounded some of our Men. So that the Rear of the *Greeks* receiv'd great Damage, without being able to return it : For the Bows of the *Cretans* did not carry so far as those of the *Persians* : The former also, being lightly arm'd, had shelter'd themselves in the middle of the heavy-arm'd Men, neither could our Darters reach their Slingers. *Xenophon* seeing this, resolv'd to pursue the Enemy, and the heavy-arm'd Men and Targeteers, who were with him in the Rear, followed the Pursuit. But they could

could come up with none of them; for the *Greeks* had no Horse, and their Foot could not in so short a Space overtake those of the Enemy, who had so much the Start of them. Neither durst they in the Pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the Army; for the *Barbarians* Horse wounded them even as they fled, shooting backward from their Horses: And, as far as the *Greeks* were advanc'd in the Pursuit, so far were they oblig'd to retreat fighting. Insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty Stadia all that Day; however in the Evening they arriv'd in the Villages. Here the Troops were again dishearten'd; and *Cheirisophus* with the oldest Generals blam'd *Xenophon* for leaving the main Body to pursue the Enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

XENOPHON hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the Event. "But, says he, I was under a Necessity of pursuing the Enemy, since I saw our Men suffer great Damage by standing still, without being able to return it: but when we were engag'd in the Pursuit, continued he, we found what you say to be

BOOK true : For we were not more able to annoy

III.

the Enemy than before, and retreated with great Difficulty. We have reason therefore to thank the Gods that they came upon us only with a small Force and a few Troops, so that, instead of doing us great Damage, they have taught us our Wants. For now the Enemy's Archers and Slingers wound our Men at a greater distance, than either the *Cretans*, or the Darters can reach them; and when we pursue them, we must not separate ourselves far from the main Body; and in a short Space our Foot, though never so swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to reach them with their Arrows. If we mean therefore to hinder them from disturbing us in our March, we must immediately provide ourselves with Slingers and Horse. I hear there are *Rhodians* in our Army, the greatest part of whom, they say, understand the Use of the Sling; and that their Slings carry twice as far as those of the *Persians*, who throwing ²² large Stones, cannot offend their Enemy at a great Distance: whereas the *Rhodians*, besides Stones, make use of leaden Balls. If therefore we enquire who

²² Χειροπλήθεσι τοῖς λίθοις. Literally Stones so large, that every one of them is a handful.

who have Slings, and pay them for them; and also give Money to those who are willing to make others, granting at the same time some other Immunity to those, who voluntarily list among the Slingers, possibly some will offer themselves, who may be fit for that Service: I see also Horses in the Army, some belonging to me; and some left by *Clearchus*; besides many others that we have taken from the Enemy; which are employed in carrying the Baggage. If therefore we chuse out all the best of these; and accoutre them for the Horse, giving to the Owners ²³ sumpter Horses in exchange, possibly these also may annoy the Enemy in their Flight." These things were resolv'd upon: and the same Night two hundred Slingers list'd themselves. The next Day proper Horses and Horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and ²⁴ buff Coats and Corslets were provided for them; and the Command of them was given to *Lycius* the Son of *Polystratus*, an *Athenian*.

P 2

THAT

²³ Σκευοφόρα. See the fifty-second Annotation upon the first Book.

²⁴ Στολάδες. *Hutchinson* inclines to read σπολάδες, which has the Sense I have here given to στολάδες, though *Suidas* acknowledges στολάδες in the Sense our Author takes it.

BOOK THAT Day the Army staid in the same
 III. Place: and the next they began their March
 earlier than usual; for they had a ²⁵ Valley
 form'd by a Torrent to pass, and were a-
 fraid the Enemy should attack them in their
 Passage. As soon as they had pass'd it, *Mi-*
thridates appear'd again with a thousand
 Horse and four thousand Archers and Slin-
 gers; for so many *Tissaphernes* had granted
 him, at his Desire, and upon his undertaking,
 with that Number, to deliver the *Greeks* into
 his Power: for having, in the last Action,
 with a small Force, done them, as he ima-
 gin'd, great Damage, without receiving any,
 he had a Contempt for them. When the
Greeks were advanc'd about eight Stadia
 beyond the Valley, *Mithridates* also pass'd
 it with the Forces under his Command.
 The *Greek* Generals had given Orders to

²⁵ *Χαράδραν*. In this Sense *χαράδραι* is taken by
Homer in that sublime Description of an Inundation,
 in which the Bishop of *Theffalonica* thinks he had the
 univeral Deluge in his Eye,

Homer
 Il. π.

Τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθυσι ρέοντες,
 Πολλὰς δὲ κλειτῆς τότε ἀποτμήγυσσι χαράδραι,

Where *χαράδραι* is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast,
 Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χειμάρρων ἐκρησσόμενοι αὐλῶνες· παρὰ τὸ
 χαράσσειν, καὶ τραχύνειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ κοῖλοι τόποι καὶ
 χεῖμαρροι, so that *χαράδρα* is a Valley form'd by a
 Torrent.

a certain Number both of the Targeteers and heavy-arm'd Men to follow the Chace, and also to the Horse to pursue them boldly, with Assurance that a sufficient Force should follow to sustain them. When therefore *Mithridates* overtook them, and was now within Reach of their Slings and Arrows, the Trumpet sounded, and those of the *Greeks*, who had Orders, immediately attack'd the Enemy, the Horse charging at the same time. However, the *Persians* did not stand to receive them, but fled to the Valley. In this Pursuit, the *Barbarians* lost many of their Foot, and about eighteen of their Horse were taken Prisoners in the Valley. The *Greeks*, of their own accord, mangled the Bodies of those that were slain, to create the greater Horror in the Enemy.

AFTER this Defeat, the *Persians* retir'd, and the *Greeks* marching the rest of the Day without Disturbance, came to the River *Tigris*. Here stood a large uninhabited City, called ²⁶ *Larissa*: It was anciently inhabited

by

²⁶ Λάρισα. It is very judiciously remarked by the great *Bochart*, that it is improbable there should be any such Name of a Town in this Part of the World as *Larissa*, because it is a *Greek* Name; and though there were several Cities so call'd, they were all *Greek*: And

BOOK by the *Medes*. The Walls were twenty-five

III. Feet in Breadth, and one hundred in Height,

and two Parasangas in Circuit; they were built with Bricks, but the Plinth was of Stone, and twenty Foot high. This City, when besieged by the King of *Persia*, at the Time the *Persians* were wresting the Empire from the *Medes*, he could not make himself Master of it by any means; when it happen'd that ²⁷ the Sun, obscur'd

by

as no *Greeks* settled in these Parts, 'till the Time of *Alexander's* Conquests, which did not happen 'till many Years after *Xenophon's* Death, so he concludes they could meet with no such Name so far from *Greece* as beyond the River *Tigris*. He therefore conjectures, that this City is the *Resen*, mention'd by *Moses*, Gen. x. 12. where he says, *Ashur built Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great City*. This agrees exactly with what *Xenophon* says of it; who calls it πόλις μεγάλη, and affirms the Walls of it to be in Circumference two Parasangas. *Bochart* therefore supposes, that when the *Greeks* asked the People of the Country, what City are these the Ruins of? They answer'd *Λαρεσεν*, that is, of *Resen*. It is easy to imagine how this Word might be soften'd by a *Greek* Termination, and made *Larissa*.

I haleg.

B. 4. c. 23.

²⁷ Ηλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα, &c. This Passage, I find, admits of different Readings, however, I prefer that of *Hutchinson*, which is supported by *Stephens* and *Muretus*, but differ both from him and *Leunclavius*, and also from *D'Abblancourt*, in translating it. They all make ἡφάνισε to relate to the Town, which, I think, is neither so agreeable to the Sense, nor to the Genius of the *Greek* Language; since ἡλιον being the accusative Case, govern'd by προκαλύψασα, I think

ἡφάνισε

by a Cloud, disappear'd, and the Darkneſs continued 'till, the Inhabitants being ſeiz'd with Conſternation, the Town was taken. Cloſe to the City ſtood a ²⁸ Pyramid of Stone

ὡφάνισι ought to relate to the ſame; which every body knows is very common in *Greek*, and not to another thing, which has not been mention'd in this Sentence.

²⁸ Πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εἶδος εὐὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. These are very extraordinary Dimensions for a Pyramid, and very different from thoſe of the *Egyptian* Pyramids: ſo that we find the *Egyptian* and *Aſiatick* Taſte diſagreed very much in this Reſpect. For, though there is ſome Diverſity in the Accounts given by the ancient Authors, of the Dimensions of the *Egyptian* Pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their Proportions from this deſcrib'd by *Xenophon*. *Herodotus* makes the great Pyramid at Memphis 800 *Greek* Feet Square, and as many in Height, *Herodotus in Euterpe*. τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτρωπον ἑκαστοῦ ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐκ τῆς τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. If the Reader pleaſes to turn to the twenty-fiſt Annotation upon the firſt Book, he will find that the *Greek* Foot exceede'd ours by ,0875 Decimals. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays the great Pyramid was four-square, and that each Side of the Baſe was 700 Feet, and the Height above 600. *Diod. Sic. 1 B.* μεγίστη, τετρά- πλευρῶς ὅσα τῷ σχήματι, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν ἑκάστην ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτὰ, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πλείων τῶν ἑξ πλέθρων. There is another Account given of its Dimensions by a modern Author, *Thevenot*, who ſays the great Pyramid is 520 Foot high, and 682 ſquare. Of theſe three Accounts that of *Diodorus Siculus* ſeems to give the moſt rational Proportion of a Pyramid, which, if ſuppoſ'd to be an equilateral Triangle, and the Baſe to contain 700 Feet, as he ſays, will, in that Caſe, have 606 Feet, and a Fraction of 2177 for its perpendicular Height: for if an equilateral Pyramid, of which the Baſe contains 700 Feet, be divided into two equal Parts by a Perpendicular let down

BOOK Stone one hundred Foot square, and two hundred high. Into this a great number of *Barbarians*, who fled from the neighbouring Villages, had conveyed themselves.

FROM thence they made, in one day's march, six Parasangas, to a large uninhabited Castle, standing near a Town, called *Mespila*, formerly inhabited also by the *Medes*. The Plinth of the Wall was built with polish'd Stone full of Shells, it was fifty Feet in Breadth, and as many in Height. Upon this stood a brick Wall fifty Feet also in Breadth, and one hundred in Height: This Wall was six Parasangas in Circuit. Here *Media*, the King's Consort, is said to have taken Refuge, when the *Medes* were depriv'd of the Empire by the *Persians*. When the *Persian* King besieg'd this City, he could not make himself Master of it either by Length

of
from the Top, it will make two right-angled Triangles, of which the Hypotenuse will contain 700 Feet, the Square of which will consequently be equal to the Square of the two other Sides: If therefore from 490000 the Square of 700, you deduct 122500 the Square of 350, of which the Base consists, there will remain 367500 for the Square of the Perpendicular, the square Root of which will be 606, with a Fraction of 2177 ; so that the perpendicular Height of an equilateral Pyramid, the Base of which is 700 Feet, will be 606 Feet with that Fraction.

Euclid. 1 B.
47 Prop.

of Time or Force, but *Jupiter* ²⁹ having struck the Inhabitants with a panick Fear, it was taken. BOOK III.

FROM this place they made, in one day's march, four Parasangas. During their March *Tissaphernes* appear'd with his own Horse, and the Forces of *Orontas*, who had married the King's Daughter, together with those *Barbarians*, who had serv'd under *Cyrus* in his Expedition; to these was added the Army which the King's Brother had brought to his Assistance, and the Troops the King had given him. All these together made a vast Army. When he approach'd, he plac'd some of his Forces against our Rear, and others against each of our Flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a Battle: However, he order'd his Men to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Rhodians*, who were dispos'd in Platoons, began to make Use of their Slings and the *Cretan* Bowmen, in Imitation of the *Scythians*, discharg'd their Arrows, none of them missing the Enemy, (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavour'd it) both *Tissaphernes* himself quickly got out

²⁹ Εμβρουτήτης. Εμβρόντητ' καρδίοπληκτ' μαινόμεν' ἐκφρων. *Suidas.*

BOOK out of their Reach, and the other Divisions

III. retir'd. The remaining part of the Day the
Greeks continued their March, and the others followed, without harassing them any more with Skirmishes; for the Slings of the *Rhodians* carried farther not only than those of the *Persians*, but even than most of the Archers could throw their Arrows. The *Persian* Bows are long, so that their Arrows, when gather'd up, were of service to the *Cretans*, who continued to make use of them, and accustom'd themselves to take a great Elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable Quantity of Bow-strings in the Villages, and some Lead, both which were employed for the Slings.

THIS Day, after the *Greeks* were encamp'd in the Villages, the *Barbarians*, having suffer'd in the Skirmish, retir'd: The next the *Greeks* staid where they were, and made their Provisions; for there was Plenty of Corn in the Villages. The Day after they march'd over the open Country, and *Tissaphernes* followed, harassing them at a Distance. Upon this occasion the *Greeks* observ'd

observ'd that an equilateral Square was not a proper Disposition for an Army, when pursued by the Enemy: for, whenever the Square has a narrow Road, a Defile between Hills, or a Bridge to pass, the Wings must close, and consequently the heavy-arm'd Men be forc'd out of their Ranks, and march uneasily, being both press'd together and disorder'd; so that of necessity they become useless for want of Order. On the other Side, when the Wings come to be again extended, the Men who before were forc'd out of their Ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an Opening in the Center; which very much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the Enemy is at their Heels. Besides, when they have a Bridge, or any other Defile to pass, every Man is in a Hurry, wanting to be first. Upon which occasion the Enemy has a fair Opportunity of attacking them. After the Generals had discover'd this, they form'd six Companies of one hundred Men each, these they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed Officers to all of them. The Captains of these Companies upon a March, when the
Wings

BOOK Wings clos'd, staid behind, so as not to
 III. disorder the Rear ; they at that Time march-
 ing clear of the Wings. And when the
 Sides of the Square came to be again ex-
 tended, 30 they then fill'd up the Center,

if

30 Τὸ μέσον ἀνέξεπέμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν σενότερον ἔη τὸ
 διέχον, κατὰ τὰς λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεν-
 τηκοῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωματίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ
 ἐκπλεῶν εἶναι τὸ μέσον. Here a great Difficulty pre-
 sents itself, which the Translators have either not seen,
 or if they have seen it, they have not thought fit to take
 Notice of it. But let us follow *Xenophon* in stating
 the Inconveniences to which the equilateral Square was
 subject, with the Remedies propos'd by the Generals
 to cure them. The Inconveniences, it seems, were
 two, the first that in passing through Defiles, the
 Wings clos'd, which put the Men in Disorder. The
 second, that, after they had pass'd the Defiles, and the
 Wings were again extended, the Men were forc'd
 to run to the Wings, in order to recover their Ranks,
 by which means there was a Void in the middle. In
 order therefore to remedy these Inconveniences, the
 Generals form'd six Companies or Bodies of one hun-
 dred Men each, which they subdivided into others of
 fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and
 appointed Officers to each of these Bodies. The Cap-
 tains of these Companies, when the Wings clos'd,
 march'd clear of them, so as not to put them into
 any Disorder ; by this Means the first Inconvenience
 was cured, but how was the second to be remedied ?
 If you believe the Text, as it now stands, by filling
 up the Void, if it was narrow, with the Companies of
 one hundred Men each, if larger, with those of fifty,
 and if very large, with those of twenty-five ; so that
 the narrower the Interval, the greater was the num-
 ber of Men to be made use of in filling it up, and
 the larger, the fewer were to be employed for that
 Purpose.

if the Opening was narrow, with the Com-
panies of one hundred Men each ; if larger, Book III.
with

Purpose. But this is obviously contrary to common Sense : If therefore the Text be so far alter'd, as to transpose *κατὰ τὰς λόχας*, and *κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*, every Thing will be natural. This Correction however I have not followed in the Translation, because it is very possible to explain the Text as it now stands, and if so, no Alteration ought to be made in it. It is possible, I say, very possible, that the Meaning of *Xenophon* may be this. Let it be suppos'd that the Square has pass'd some Defile, and that the Men running to each of the Wings in order to recover their Ranks, there remains a Void in the Center ; in that Case, I say, possibly the Captains of these six Companies, marching in the Rear, filled up the Void, if it was narrow, with their six Companies of one hundred Men each, drawn up, for example, twenty-five in Front, and twenty-four in Depth ; if the Void was larger, with those of fifty Men each drawn up fifty in Front, and twelve in Depth ; and if very large, with the Companies of twenty-five Men each, drawn up one hundred in Front, and six in Depth ; and by this means, as our Author says, the Center was always full. This Passage seems very well to have deserv'd the Attention of the Translators, for, if I am not mistaken, this is a very fine Disposition, and very well calculated to cure the two Inconveniences to which a Square was subject, when an Enemy followed. But the Merit of this, and of all other Dispositions practis'd by our Author in this memorable Retreat, must be submitted to the military Men, who alone are the proper Judges in these Cases. As to the Signification of *πεντηκός*, and *ἐνωμοτία*, they were both military Terms among the *Lacedæmonians*, the first explains itself, and the second is thus explain'd by *Suidas*. *Ενωμοτία. τάξις τις στρατιωτικὴ ἀνδρῶν ἐκ' ἑκ', παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἴρηται, δὲ ἐκ τῶ ὁμνύναι αὐτὰς μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν*, a Body of Soldiers among the *Lacedæmonians*, consisting of twenty-five

BOOK with those of fifty; and if very large, with
 III. those of five and twenty: so that the Center was always full. If therefore the Army were to pass any Defile or Bridge, there was no Confusion, the Captains of these several Companies bringing up the Rear; and, if a Detachment were wanted upon any Occasion, these were always at hand. In this Disposition they made four Marches.

WHILE they were upon their March the fifth Day, they saw a Palace and many Villages lying round it. The Road, which led to this Place lay over high Hills, that reach'd down from the Mountain, under which there stood a Village. The *Greeks* were rejoic'd to see these Hills, and with great Reason, the Enemy's Forces consisting in Horse. But after they had left the Plain, and ascended the first Hill, while they were descending from thence in order to climb the next, the *Barbarians* appear'd, and from the Eminence shower'd down upon them, under

five Men. It must be observ'd, that in the first Book, where *Xenophon* mentions two of *Menon's* λόχοι or Companies to have been cut off, he says they amounted to one hundred Men, whereas these Companies consisted of one hundred Men each; but these seem to have been form'd for this particular Purpose.

under ³¹ the Scourge, Darts, Stones; and Book
Arrows: They wounded many, and had III.
the Advantage over the *Greek* light-arm'd
Men, forcing them to retire within the
Body of the heavy-arm'd: So that the Slin-
gers and Archers were that Day intirely
useless, being mixed with those who had
Charge of the Baggage: And when the
Greeks, being thus press'd, endeavour'd to
pursue the Enemy, as they were heavy-
arm'd Men, they mov'd slowly to the Top
of the Mountain, while the Enemy quickly
retreated: And when the *Greeks* retir'd to
their ³² main Body, the same thing happen'd

to
³¹ ὑπὸ μασίγων. It was Part of the *Persian*
Discipline to make their Soldiers do their Duty, as
Xenophon says, ὑπὸ μασίγων, under the Scourge. So
Xerxes, after he had landed in *Europe*, saw his Army *Herodotus*
passing the *Hellepont* under the Scourge, ἐθνεῖτο τὸν in Poly-
στράτον ὑπὸ μασίγων διαβαίνοντα; *D'Ablancourt* has hymnia.
left it quite out, chusing rather to leave his Readers
uninform'd of this Custom, than to clog his Transla-
tion with so uncommon a Circumstance.

³² Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα. *Scil. Barbarorum*,
says *Hutchinson* in his Notes; *Leunclavius* has also
translated it in the same Sense: I am sorry to find
myself oblig'd to differ from them both; but I think
it plain that τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα here signifies the main
Body of the *Greeks*, from which these heavy-arm'd
Men were detach'd to drive the Enemy from the
Eminence, which after they had effected, the Enemy
attack'd them in their Retreat to their main Body.
Our Author us'd the same Expression in the same Sense
some

BOOK to them again. They found the same Difficulty in passing the second Hill: so that they determin'd not to order out the heavy-arm'd Men from the third Hill; but, instead of that, they brought up the Targeteers to the Top of the Mountain from the Right of the Square. When these were got above the Enemy, they no longer molested our Men in their Descent, fearing to be cut off from their own Body, and, that we should attack them on both Sides. In this Manner we march'd the rest of the Day, some in the Road upon the Hills, and others abreast of them upon the Mountain, 'till they came to the Villages: When they appointed eight ³³ Surgeons, for there were many wounded.

HERE
some Pages before, πολὺ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης στρατεύματός διώκειν, where all the Translators have translated τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα, in the same manner I have render'd it here: Besides, the word ἀπίσειν shews clearly that the Thing here spoken of is their Return.

³³ Ιατροί. I have said Surgeons instead of Physicians, because both Professions being anciently exercis'd by the same Persons, they were chiefly employed as Surgeons upon this Occasion. There are two Verses in *Homer*, upon *Machaon's* being wounded by *Paris*, which shew both the great Regard that was paid to the Profession, and that Surgery, as I said, was a Branch of it,

Homer
Il. A.

Ἰητροὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξει ἄλλων,
Ἰὺς τ' ἐκτάμνειν, ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.

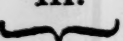
HERE they staid three Days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of Provisions there, as Wheat-Meal, Wine, and a great quantity of Barley for Horses; all which was laid up for the Satrape of the Country. The fourth Day they descended into the Plain; where, when *Tisaphernes* had overtaken them with the Army under his Command, he taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first Village they came to, and to march no longer fighting: For some being wounded, some employed in carrying those who were so, and others in carrying the Arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a Condition to fight. But, when they were encamp'd, and the *Barbarians*, coming up to the Village, offer'd to skirmish, the *Greeks* had greatly the Advantage of them: for they found a great difference between sallying from their Camp to repulse the Enemy, and being oblig'd to march fighting, whenever they were attack'd. When the Evening approach'd, it was Time for the *Barbarians* to retire; because they never encamp'd at a less distance from the *Greeks*, than sixty Stadia, for Fear these should fall upon them in the Night. A *Persian* Army being then subject to great Incon-

Book veniences: for their Horses are tied, and
 III. generally shackled, to prevent them from
 running away; and, if an Alarm happens,
 a *Persian* has the ³⁴ Housing to fix, his
 Horse to bridle, and his Corslet to put on,
 before he can mount. All these Things can-
 not be done in the Night without great
 Difficulty, particularly, if there is an Alarm.
 For this Reason they always encamp'd at a
 Distance from the *Greeks*. When these per-
 ceiv'd they design'd to retire, and that the
 Word was given, they, in the Enemy's hear-
 ing, receiv'd Orders to make ready to march.
 Upon this the *Barbarians* made a Halt;
 but, when it grew late, they departed: for
 they did not hold it expedient to march,
 and arrive at their Camp, in the Night.

WHEN the *Greeks* plainly saw they were
 retir'd, they also decamp'd, and marching
 away,

³⁴ Επισάσαι τὸν ἵππον. I was surpriz'd to find
 this translated by d'Abblancourt, *selle son Cheval*, which
 I had rather attribute to his Inadvertence, than to his
 Ignorance, since he could not but know that the An-
 cients, instead of Saddle, used a kind of Housing, or
 Julius Pol. Horse-cloth, which the *Greeks* called σάυν, and the
 10 B. c. 12. *Latins Sagum*. This Housing is to be seen upon the
 Horses represented on *Trajan's Pillar*, and in many other
 Monuments of Antiquity. The *Romans* called these
 Housings also *strata*, the Invention of which, toge-
 ther with that of Bridles, *Pliny* ascribes to *Pelethronius*,
 7 B. c. 57. *frænos & strata Equorum Pelethronium*.

away, advanc'd about sixty Stadia. The two Armies were now at so great a Distance from one another, that the Enemy did not appear, either the next Day, or the Day after: But on the fourth, the *Barbarians*, having got before the *Greeks* in the Night, possess'd themselves of an Eminence that commanded the Road, through which the *Greeks* were to pass. It was the Brow of a Hill, under which lay the Descent into the Plain. As soon as *Cheirisophus* saw this Eminence possess'd by the Enemy, he sent for *Xenophon* from the Rear, and desired him to bring up the Targeteers to the Front: *Xenophon* did not take these with him; (for he saw *Tissaphernes* advancing with his whole Army) but, riding up to him himself, said, Why do you send for me? *Cheirisophus* answer'd, you see the Enemy have possess'd themselves of the Hill that commands the Descent, and, unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but, adds he, why did you not bring the Targeteers along with you? *Xenophon* replied, because he did not think proper to leave the Rear naked, when the Enemy was in Sight: but, says he, it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those Men. Here *Xenophon* observing

BOOK the Top of the Mountain, that was above
 III.  their own Army, found there was a Passage from that to the Hill, where the Enemy was posted. Upon this he said, " O "
Cheirisophus ! I think, the best Thing we
 " can do, is to gain the Top of this Mountain, as soon as possible; for, if we are
 " once Masters of That, the Enemy cannot
 " maintain themselves upon the Hill. Do
 " you stay with the Army, says he, if you
 " think fit, I'll go up the Hill, or, do you go,
 " if you desire it, and I'll stay here." *Cheirisophus* answer'd, I give you your Choice :
 To this *Xenophon* replied, that, as he was the
 younger Man, he chose to go ; but desir'd he
 would send with him some Troops from
 the Front, since it would take a great Deal
 of Time to bring up a Detachment from
 the Rear. So *Cheirisophus* sent the Targe-
 teers that were in the Front : *Xenophon*
 also took those that were in the Middle of
 the Square. Besides these, *Cheirisophus* order'd the three hundred chosen Men, who
 attended on himself in the Front of the
 Square, to follow him.

AFTER that they march'd with all possible Expedition. The Enemy, who were upon
 the

the Hill, the Moment they saw them climb the Mountain, advanc'd at the same time striving to get there before them. Upon this Occasion there was a vast Shout rais'd both by the *Greek Army*, and that of *Tissaphernes*, each encouraging their own Men. And *Xenophon*, riding by the Side of his Troops, called out to them, "Soldiers! think you are
 " this Minute contending to return to *Greece*,
 " this Minute to see your Wives and Children: After this momentary Labour we
 " shall go on without any farther Opposition." To whom *Soteridas* the *Sicyonian* said, "We are not upon equal Terms, O
 " *Xenophon*! for you are on Horseback,
 " while I am greatly fatigu'd with carrying
 " my Shield." *Xenophon* hearing this, leap'd from his Horse, and thrust him out of his Rank; then, taking his Shield, march'd on as fast as he could. He happen'd to have a Horseman's Corslet on at that Time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their Pace, and to those behind, who followed with great Difficulty, to come up. The rest of the Soldiers beat and abus'd *Soteridas*; and threw Stones at him, 'till they oblig'd him to take his Shield, and go on.

BOOK III. Then *Xenophon* remounted, and led them on Horseback, as far as the Way would allow; and, when it became impassable for his Horse, he hasten'd forward on Foot. At last they gain'd the Top of the Mountain, and prevented the Enemy.

UPON this the *Barbarians* turn'd their Backs, and fled every one as he could : And the *Greeks* remain'd Masters of the Eminence. *Tissaphernes* and *Ariæus* with their Men, turning out of the Road, went another way : And *Cheirisophus* with his Forces came down into the Plain, and encamp'd in a Village abounding in every Thing. There were also many other Villages in this Plain, near the *Tigris*, full of all Sorts of Provisions. In the Evening the Enemy appear'd on a sudden in the Plain, and cut off some of the *Greeks*, who were dispers'd in plundering : for many Herds of Cattle were taken, as the People of the Country were endeavouring to make them pass the River. Here *Tissaphernes* and his Army attempted to set Fire to the Villages. At this some of the *Greeks* were dishearten'd, from the Apprehension of wanting Provisions if he burn'd them. About this time *Cheirisophus* and his

his Men came back from relieving their Companions, and *Xenophon*, being come down into the Plain, and riding through the Ranks, after the *Greeks* were return'd, said. " You see, O *Greeks*! the Enemy " already acknowledge the Country to be " ours: for, when they made Peace with " us, they stipulated that we should not " burn the Country belonging to the King, " and now they set Fire to it themselves; " as if they look'd upon it no longer as " their own. But, wherever they leave any " Provisions for themselves, thither also " they shall see us direct our March. But, " O *Cheirisophus*! says he, I think we ought " to attack these Burners, as in Defence of our " own Country." *Cheirisophus* answer'd, " I am not of that Opinion. On the con- " trary, let us also set Fire to it ourselves, " and by that Means they will give over the " sooner."

WHEN they came to their Tents, the Soldiers employed themselves in getting Provisions, and the Generals and Captains assembled, and were in great Perplexity: For, on one Side of them were exceeding high Mountains, and on the other, a River so deep,

BOOK that, when they sounded it with their Pikes,
 III. the Ends of them did not even appear above
 the Water : While they were in this Per-
 plexity, a certain *Rhodian* came to them,
 and said, “ Gentlemen ! I’ll undertake to
 “ carry over ³⁵ four thousand heavy-arm’d
 “ Men at a Time, if you’ll supply me with
 “ what I want, and give me ³⁶ a Talent
 “ for my Pains.” Being ask’d what he want-
 ed, “ I shall want, says he, two thousand
 “ leather Bags. I see here great numbers of
 “ Sheep, Goats, Oxen and Asses : if these are
 “ flea’d, and their Skins blown, we may easily
 “ pass the River with them. I shall also
 “ want the Girts belonging to the sumpter
 “ Horses : With these, adds he, I will fasten
 “ the Bags to one another, and hanging
 “ Stones to them, let them down into the
 “ Water, instead of Anchors, then tie up
 “ the Bags at both Ends, and, when they
 “ are upon the Water, lay Fascines upon
 “ them, and cover them with Earth. I
 “ will make you presently sensible, continues
 “ he, that you can’t sink, for every Bag will
 “ bear

³⁵ Κατὰ τετρακισχίλις. This is the known Force
 of the Preposition κατὰ, as might be shewn by many
 Examples taken from the best Authors.

³⁶ Τάλαντον. See the 11th Annotation upon the
 first Book.

“ bear up two Men, and the Fascines and
 “ the Earth will prevent them from slip-
 “ ping.”

BOOK
 III.

THE Generals, hearing this, thought the Invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in Practice : for there were great Numbers of Horse on the other Side of the River to oppose their Passage, and these would at once break all their Measures. The next Day the Army turn'd back again, taking a different Road from that which leads to *Babylon*; and march'd to the Villages that were not burn'd, setting Fire to those they abandon'd. Insomuch that the Enemy did not ride up to them, but look'd on, wondering which Way the *Greeks* meant to take, and what their Intention was. Here, while the Soldiers were employed in getting Provisions, the Generals and Captains re-assembled, and ordering the Prisoners to be brought in, ³⁷ enquir'd concerning every Country that lay round them. The Prisoners inform'd them that there was to the South a Road that led to *Babylon* and *Media*, through which they came : another to the East, leading to *Susa* and *Ecbatana*, where the King is said to pass the Summer,

³⁷ Ηλεγχον. Ελέγξει βασιανίσει. *Hefychius.*

Book mer, and the Spring ; a third to the West
 III. over the *Tigris*, to *Lydia* and *Ionia* ; and
 that the Road, which lay over the Moun-
 tains to the North, led to ³⁸ the *Cardu-*
chians. This People, they said, inhabited
 those Mountains, and that they were a war-
 like Nation, and not subject to the King :
 And that once the King's Army, consisting
 of one hundred and twenty thousand Men,
 penetrated into their Country ; from whence
 not one of them return'd, the Roads being
 hardly passable. But that whenever there was
 a Peace subsisting between them and the Go-
 vernour residing in the Plain, there was an
 Intercourse between the two Nations.

THE Generals, hearing this, kept those
 Prisoners by themselves from whom they
 receiv'd the Intelligence of each Country,
 without discovering what Rout they design'd

to
³⁸ Καρδύχης. This People came afterwards to be
 better known under the Name of *Parthians*. I should
 not have advanc'd this upon an Authority of less
 Weight, than that of *Strabo* ; Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει,
 Strabo, says he, τὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων χωρία ὅς οἱ πάλαι Καρ-
 16 B. δέχης ἔλεγον. It was the Posterity of this very Peo-
 ple, with whom we shall find the *Greeks* engag'd in the
 next Book, who, under the Conduct of their King
 Dion Cas- *Artaces*, freed their Country from the Dominion of
 sius, 40 B. the *Seleucides*, and afterwards became a Terror even
 to the *Romans*, who were so to the rest of Mankind.
 They

to take. However, they found there was a Book
Necessity to pass the Mountains, and pene- III.

trate into the Country of the *Carduchians*:
for the Prisoners inform'd them, that, as soon
as they had pass'd through it, they should
arrive in *Armenia*, which was a spacious
and plentiful Country, and of which *Oron-
tas* was Governour; from whence they
might, without difficulty, march which Way
soever they pleas'd. Upon this they offer'd
Sacrifice, to the End, that, when they found
it convenient, they might depart, (for they
were afraid the Pass over the Mountains
might be possess'd by the Enemy) and com-
manded the Soldiers, as soon as they had
supp'd, to get their Baggage ready; then all
to go to Rest, and march upon the first
Order.

They are still called *Curdes* and their Country *Cur-
distan*, *Plutarch* informs us that *Artaxerxes* (the same *Plutarch*
against whom this Expedition was form'd) afterwards *Life of Ar-
taxerxes.* march'd into the Country of the *Carduchians*, at the
Head of three hundred thousand Foot and ten thou-
sand Horse; and that his Army had in all probability
been destroyed by Famine, had not *Tiribazus*, by in-
fusing into the Minds of the two Kings of the *Car-
duchians* a mutual Distrust, induc'd them to make
Peace with the *Persians*.

The End of the Third Book.

T H E



T H E
E X P E D I T I O N
O F
C Y R U S.

B O O K IV.

Book
IV.

WE have hitherto given an Account of what happen'd in the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the time of the Battle, of what happen'd after the Battle, during the Truce concluded between the King and the *Greeks* who had serv'd under *Cyrus*, and in what Manner, after the King and *Tissaphernes* had broken the Truce, the *Greeks* were harass'd, while they were followed by the *Persian* Army.

W H E N

The EXPEDITION of CYRUS. 237

WHEN the *Greeks* came to the Place, BOOK IV.
 where the River *Tigris* is, both from its
 Depth, and Breadth, absolutely impassable,
 and no Road appear'd, the craggy Moun-
 tains of the *Carduchians* hanging over
 the River, the Generals resolv'd to march
 over those Mountains: For they were in-
 form'd by the Prisoners, that, after they
 had pass'd them, they would have it in their
 Power to cross the Head of the *Tigris* in
Armenia, if they thought proper; if not,
 to go round it. ¹ The Source of the *Eu-*
phrates also was said not to be far distant
 from

¹ Καὶ τῷ·Εὐφράτῃ τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο ὃ πρόσω
 τῷ Τίγρητι εἶναι. *Strabo* informs us that the *Eu-*
phrates and *Tigris* both rise out of Mount *Taurus*, the ¹¹ B.
 former on the North of it, and the latter on the South,
 and that the Sources of these Rivers are distant from
 one another about two thousand five hundred Stadia,
 διέχουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τῷ τε Εὐφράτῃ καὶ τῷ
 Τίγρητι περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας σταδίας. I
 cannot omit, upon this occasion, an Observation of
 the learned Bishop of *Auranches*, who says that the
 Name of Mount *Taurus* comes from the general Word *Huet*.
 170 *Toru*, which, in the *Chaldaic* Language, signifies *Com. des*
 a Mountain, and is applicable to every Mountain in *Anc. c. 56.*
 the World: this he confirms by the Testimony of *Dio-*
dorus Siculus, who, speaking of the Building of *Tauro-*
minium in *Sicily*, calls the Mountain *Taurus* upon which *Diod. Sic.*
 it stood, λόφος, a Hill. But it must be observ'd, ¹⁴ B.
 that the Mountain from whence the *Euphrates* rises,
 is more properly a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, which
Strabo in the same Book calls *Abos*. *Tournefort*, who *Tourne-*
 was fort, ¹⁸
 Letter.

BOOK from that of the *Tigris* : and indeed the Dis-

IV. { tance between these two Rivers is in some places but small. To the End therefore that the Enemy might not be acquainted with their Design of penetrating into the Country of the *Carduchians*, and defeat it, by possessing themselves of the Eminences, they executed it in the following Manner. When it was ^a about the last Watch, and so much

of

was upon the Place, says, that the *Euphrates* has two Sources rising out of that Mountain, which Sources form two beautiful Rivulets, both called by the Name of *Frat* : And that these Rivulets make a kind of Peninsula of the Plain, in which *Erzeron*, the Capital of *Armenia*, stands, and afterwards unite their Streams at a Village, called *Mommacotum*, which, he says, is about three Days Journey from *Erzeron*. I shall only add that *Moses*, in his Description of Paradise, calls this

Gen. c. ii. River פַּרְתִּי *Phrath*, which the Septuagint has translated
ver. 14. Ευφράτης ; though by the way it is pretty plain these Letters were not those made use of by *Moses*, since the *Jews* used the *Samaritan* Letters 'till their Captivity at *Babylon*, and adopted the *Syriac* or *Chaldaic* at their Return.

Origines
in a Frag-
ment in
Montfau-
con.

^a Τελευταία Φυλακήν. The Author of the *Ety-mologicum* thinks that *Φυλακή* comes from *φυλή* ; the Reason he gives for it is, because the Watches were kept by the Tribes, λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τὰς Φυλακὰς αἱ Φυλαὶ εἶχον· ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ πρώτη Φυλακή τῆς νυκτός, καὶ δευτέρα, καὶ τρίτη· κατὰ γὰρ τρεῖς ὥρας ἐφύλαττε μία φυλή. From thence, says he, they say the first, second, and third Watch, because one Tribe watched three Hours. The Invention of these Watches, together with that of many other military Institutions, *Pliny* ascribes to *Palemedes*, *Ordinem exercitus, signi dationem, Tesseras*, 7 B. c. 56. *Vigilias invenit Palemedes Trojano Bello.*

of the Night was left, as to allow them to traverse the Plain while it was yet dark, they decamp'd, and, marching when the Order was given, came to the Mountain by break of Day. *Cheirisophus* commanded the Vanguard with his own People, and all the light-arm'd Men; and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear with the heavy-arm'd, having none of the light-arm'd, because there seem'd no Danger of the Enemy's attacking their Rear, while they were marching up the Mountain. *Cheirisophus* gain'd the Top before he was perceiv'd by the Enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the Army, as fast as they pass'd the Summit, followed him into the Villages, that lay dispers'd in the Valleys and Recesses of the Mountains.

UPON this the *Carduchians* left their Houses, and, with their Wives and Children, fled to the Hills. Here they had an Opportunity of supplying themselves with Provisions in Abundance. The Houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass Utensils, which the *Greeks* forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the Inhabitants, in
Hope,

BOOK Hope, by sparing them, to prevail upon the

IV.

Carduchians, since they were Enemies to the King, to conduct them through their Country in a friendly Manner : But they took all the Provisions they met with ; for they were compelled to it by Necessity. However, the *Carduchians* paid no Regard to their Invitations, or shewed any other Symptoms of a friendly Disposition : And, when the Rear of the *Greek* Army was descending from the Top of the Mountains into the Villages, it being now dark, (for as the Way was narrow, they spent the whole Day in the Ascent of the Mountains, and the Descent from thence into the Villages) some of the *Carduchians*, gathering together, attack'd the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with Stones, and Arrows. They were but few in number ; for the *Greek* Army came upon them un-awares. Had the Enemy been more numerous at that Time, great Part of the Army had been in Danger. In this Manner they pass'd the Night in the Villages : And the *Carduchians* made Fires all round them upon the Mountains, and both had their Eyes upon one another.

As soon as it was Day, the Generals and the Captains of the *Greeks* assembled, and resolv'd to reserve only those sumpter Horses upon their March that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the Slaves they had newly taken : For the great number of sumpter Horses and Slaves retarded their March; and many of their Men, by having Charge of these, were unfit for Action. Besides, there being so many Mouths, they were under a Necessity of providing and carrying double the Quantity of Provisions. This being resolv'd, they gave Orders to have it put in Execution.

WHILE therefore they were upon their March after Dinner, the Generals plac'd themselves in a narrow Pass, and, whatever they found reserv'd by the Soldiers, contrary to Order, they took it away ; and the Men submitted, (unless any of them happen'd privately to have retain'd some Boy, or beautiful Woman he was fond of.) In this Manner they march'd that Day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The next Day there was a great Storm, however they were oblig'd to go on ; for their Provisions fail'd them. *Cheir*

BOOK *risophus* led the Van, and *Xenophon* brought
IV. up the Rear. Here, the Ways being narrow,
the Enemy made a brisk Attack upon them,
and, coming up close, discharg'd their Ar-
rows, and made use of their Slings: So that
the *Greeks*, sometimes pursuing, and some-
times retreating, were oblig'd to march
slowly; and *Xenophon* often order'd the
Army to halt, when the Enemy press'd hard
upon them. Upon one of these Orders
Cheirisophus, who us'd to stand still on the
like Occasions, did not stop, but march'd
faster than usual, and order'd the Men to
follow. By this it appear'd there was some-
thing extraordinary, but they were not at
Leisure to send to him to enquire the Cause
of this Haste: So that the March of those
in the Rear had the Resemblance more of a
Flight, than a Retreat. Here fell a brave
Man, *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, who
was wounded in the Side by an Arrow,
that made its Way both through his Shield
and his buff Coat. Here also fell *Basias*,
an *Arcadian*, whose Head was pierc'd quite
through with an Arrow. When they were
arriv'd at the Place, where they design'd to
encamp, *Xenophon* immediately went, as
he was, to *Cheirisophus*, and blam'd him
for

for not stopping, but obliging the Rear to fly and fight at the same Time. " Here BOOK IV.

" we have lost two brave and worthy Men,
 " says he, without being able either to
 " bring them off, or to bury them." To
 this *Cheirisophus* answer'd, " Cast your
 " Eyes, says he, upon those Mountains,
 " and observe how unpassable they all
 " are. You see there is but one Road, and
 " that a steep one. It is, you may observe,
 " possess'd too by a great Multitude of Men,
 " who stand ready to defend it. For this
 " Reason I march'd hastily, without staying
 " for you, that, if possible, I might pre-
 " vent the Enemy, and make myself Mas-
 " ter of the Pass: for our Guides assure
 " us there is no other Road." *Xenophon*
 replied, " I have two Prisoners: for, when
 " the Enemy molested us in our March, we
 " plac'd some Men in Ambush, (which gave
 " us time to breathe) and, having killed
 " some of them, we were also desirous of
 " taking some alive, with this View, that
 " we might have Guides who were acquaint-
 " ed with the Country."

THE Prisoners therefore being brought be-
 fore them, they question'd them separately,

R 2

whether

Ἡ δὲ γὰρ. See the 37th Annot. upon the 3^d Book.

BOOK whether they knew of any other Road than
 IV. That, which lay before them. One of them
 said he knew no other, though he was
 threaten'd with divers Kinds of Torture.
 As he said nothing to the Purpose, he was
 put to Death in the Presence of the other.
 The Survivor said, this Man pretended he
 did not know the other Road, because he
 had a Daughter married to a Man, who
 liv'd there : But that he himself would un-
 dertake to conduct us through a Road that
 was passable even for the sumpter Horses.
 Being ask'd whether there was any difficult
 Pass in that Road, he said there was a Sum-
 mit, which, if not secur'd in Time, would
 render the Passage impracticable. Upon this
 it was thought proper to assemble the Cap-
 tains, the Targeteers, and some of the heavy-
 arm'd Men : And, having inform'd them
 how Matters stood, to ask them whether
 any of them would shew their Gallantry,
 and voluntarily undertake this Service. Two
 of the heavy-arm'd Men offer'd themselves,
Aristonymus of *Methydria*, and *Agasias* of
Stymphalus, both *Arcadians*. But *Calli-*
machus of *Parrhasie*, an *Arcadian*, and
Agasias had a Contest who should under-
 take it. The latter said that he would go, and
 take

take with him Volunteers out of the whole Army. "For I am well assur'd, says he, if I have the Command, many of the Youth will follow me." After that they ask'd if any of the light-arm'd Men, or of their Officers would also be of the Party. Upon which *Aristeas* of *Chios* presented himself. He had, upon many Occasions of this nature, done great Service to the Army.

THE 4 Day was now far advanced: So the Generals order'd these to eat something, and set out; and deliver'd the Guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themselves Masters of the Summit, they should make it good that Night, and, as soon as it was Day, give them Notice of it by sounding a Trumpet: And that those above should charge that Body of the Enemy that was posted in the Passage that lay before them, while those below march'd up to their Assistance with all the Expedition they were able. When Things were thus order'd, they set forward, being about two thousand in Number. And, notwithstanding it rain'd most violently, *Xenophon* march'd at the Head of

R 3

the

* Καὶ ἣν μὲν δείλην. That is the middle of the Afternoon. See the 119th Annotation upon the first Book.

BOOK the Rear-Guard towards the Passage before
IV. them, in order to draw the Attention of
 the Enemy that Way, and conceal, as much
 as possible, the March of the Detachment.
 When *Xenophon*, with the Rear-Guard,
 came to ' a Valley which they were to pass,
 in order to climb the Ascent, the *Barba-*
rians roll'd down ' vast round Stones, each
 a Tun in Weight, with others both larger
 and smaller. These, being dash'd against the
 Rocks in their Fall, the Splinters ' were
 hurled every Way, which made it absolutely
 impossible to approach the Road. Some of
 the

' *Χεράδραν*. See the 25th Annotation upon the
 third Book.

⁶ *Ολοτρέχας ἀμαξιαίης*. *Ολότροχος* is here a Sub-
 stantive, like *όλοοίτροχος* in *Homer*, and used in the
 same Sense with that in the following Verse,

Homer
H. N.

— *όλοοίτροχος* ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης
 Οἱ τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάρροσ' ὦση,
 Ρήξας ἀσπέτω ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέσ' ἔχματα πέτρης,
 Τψι τ' ἀναθρόσκων πέτεται—.

Where *όλοοίτροχος* is thus explain'd by the *Greek*
Scholiast, λίθος περιφερής, τρογύλη. *Αμαξιαῖοι*
λίθοι literally signifies Stones so large, that each of
 them was a Cart Load, or, what we call, a Tun
 Weight.

⁷ *Διεσφενδονῶντο*. This Word happily expresses the
 impetuous Dispersion of the Splinters, when the Stones
 were shatter'd by falling against the Rocks. There is
 a Passage in *Euripides*, where this Word without the
 Preposition is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully
 made Use of to express the scattering of the Limbs
 of

the Captains despairing to gain this Passage, endeavour'd to find out another, and employ'd themselves in this Manner, 'till it was dark. When they imagin'd they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their Supper; for the Rear-Guard had not din'd that Day. However, the Enemy continued to roll down Stones all Night, as was perceived by the Noise they made in their Fall. In the mean Time, those, who march'd round with the Guide, surpriz'd the Enemy's Guard as they were sitting round a Fire: And, having killed some of them, and forc'd others down the Precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves Masters of the Summit.

R 4

But

of Capaneus, when he was dash'd to pieces by a Thunderbolt just as he was scaling the Battlements of Thebes,

Ἦδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γείσσα τεχέων
βάλλει περαυνῶ Ζεὺς νιν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ
χθών, ὥς εἰδῆσαι πάντας. ἐκ δὲ κλιμάκων
Ἐσφενδονᾶτο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μέλη.
Κόμαι μὲν εἰς Ὀλυμπον· αἶμα δ' εἰς χθόνα
Χεῖρες δὲ καὶ κῶλ' ὥς κύκλωμ' Ἰξίου
Εἰσσεύ· εἰς γῆν δ' ἔμπυρ πῖπτει νεκρός.

Euripides
Φοῖβος
4th Act.

While o'er the Battlements Capaneus sprung,
Jove struck him with his Thunder, and the Earth
Resounded with the Crack; mean while Mankind
Stood all agast; from off the Ladder's Height
His Limbs were far asunder hurl'd, his Hair
Flew tow'rds Olympus, to the Ground his Blood,
His Hands and Feet whirl'd like Ixion's Wheel,
And to the Earth his flaming Body fell.

BOOK But in this they were mistaken, for there
 - IV. was still an Eminence above them, near
which lay the narrow Way, where the Guard
sate : There was indeed a Passage, from the
Post they had taken, to that the Enemy
was possess'd of in the open Road. Here
they remain'd that Night.

As soon as it was Day, they put themselves in Order, and march'd in Silence against the Enemy : And, there being a Mist, came close to them before they were perceiv'd. When they saw one another, the Trumpet sounded, and the *Greeks* shouting, made their Attack. However the *Barbarians* did not stand to receive them, but quitted the Road, very few of them being killed in the Flight : for they were prepar'd for Expedition. *Cheirisophus* and his Men, hearing the Trumpet, immediately march'd up the Pass which lay before them. The rest of the Generals took By-paths, each of them where he happen'd to be, and, climbing as well as they could, ⁸ drew up one another with

5: B.

⁸ Ἀνίστασθαι. From *ἵστας* ; but *ἀνίστασθαι* in the best Authors signifies to *draw up* any thing generally. So *Dion Cassius* uses the Word, when he says *Marc Antony* begg'd of those who were about him, to carry him

with their Pikes : And these were the first who join'd the Detachment that had gain'd the Post. *Xenophon*, with one half of the Rear-Guard, march'd up the same Way those went who had the Guide, (this Road being the most convenient for the sumpter Horses) the other half he order'd to come up behind the Baggage. In their March they came to a Hill that commanded the Road, and was possess'd by the Enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be sever'd from the rest of the *Greeks*. The Men indeed might have gone the same Way the rest took, but the sumpter Horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their Attack upon the Hill ⁹ in Columns,

him to *Cleopatra's* Sepulchre, and draw him up to the Top of it by the Ropes that hung down to draw up the Stones employed in the Structure of it :
 ἰκέτευσεν τὰς παρόντας, ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτὸν κομίσωσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμασμένων ἀνιμῶσι.

⁹ Οἰθίοις τοῖς λόχοις. What λόχος οἰθίος, or Φάλαξ οἰθία, is, we may learn from *Arrian* in his *Tactics*: οἰθία (Φάλαξ) says he, ὅταν ἐπὶ κέρας, (or κέρως) πορεύηται· ἔτω, δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς μήκους πολλαπλάσιον παρέχεται· ὅλως τε παράμηνες μὲν τάγμα ὀνομάζεται, ὅτε περ αὐτὸ μήκος ἔχη ἐπιπλεῖον τῷ βάθει· οἰθίον δὲ, ὅτε περ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς μήκους. So that οἰθία Φάλαξ is properly an Army, and λόχοι οἰθίοι

BOOK Columns, not surrounding it, but leaving
 IV. the Enemy Room to run away, if they were
 so dispos'd. Accordingly, the *Barbarians* seeing our Men marching up the Hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their Arrows, or their Darts upon those who approach'd the Road, fled, and quitted the Place. The *Greeks*, having march'd by this Hill, saw another before them also possess'd by the Enemy. This they resolv'd to attack likewise: But *Xenophon* considering, that, if he left the Hill they had already taken, without a Guard, the Enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter Horses as they pass'd by them; (for the Way being narrow, there was a long File of them.) He therefore left upon this Hill *Cephisodorus* the Son of *Cephisiphon*, an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a banish'd *Argive*, both Captains; while he, with the rest, march'd to the second Hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remain'd a third, by much the steepest. This was the Eminence that commanded the Post where the Guard was surpriz'd at the Fire,

the

ἀσπίς are Companies drawn up in Columns, where as *Arrian* says, there are many more Men in Depth, than in Front.

the Night before, by the Detachment. When the *Greeks* approach'd the Hill, the *Barbarians* quitted it without striking a Stroke: So that every body was surpriz'd, and suspected they left the Place, fearing to be surrounded and besieg'd in it. But the Truth was, that, seeing from the Eminence what pass'd behind, they all made Haste away with a Design to fall upon the Rear. BOOK IV.

XENOPHON, with the youngest of his Men, ascended to the Top of this Hill, and order'd the rest to march slowly after, that the two Captains, who were left behind, might join them: And that when they were all together, they should chuse some even Place in the Road, and there stand to their Arms. He had no sooner given his Orders than *Archagoras*, the *Argive*, came flying from the Enemy, and brought an Account, that they were driven from the first Hill, and that *Cephisodorus* and *Amphicrates*, and all the rest, who had not leap'd from the Rock and join'd the Rear, were slain. The *Barbarians*, after this Advantage, came to the Hill opposite to that where *Xenophon* stood; and *Xenophon* treated with them, by an Interpreter, concerning a Truce, and demanded the Dead, They

BOOK They consented to deliver them, provided
 IV. he agreed not to burn their Villages. *Xenophon* came into this. While the other Part of the Army approach'd, and these were employed in treating, all the Men mov'd from the Post they were in towards the same Place. Upon this the Enemy made a stand, and, when the *Greeks* began to descend from the Top of the Hill to join those who were drawn up in Order of Battle, they advanc'd in great Numbers, and with Tumult ; and, after they had gain'd the top of the Hill, which *Xenophon* had quitted, they roll'd down Stones, and broke the Leg of one of our Men. Here *Xenophon's* Armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his Shield : But *Eurylochus* of *Lusis*, an *Arcadian*, and one of the heavy-arm'd Men, ran to his Relief, and covered both himself and *Xenophon* with his Shield, while the rest join'd those who stood ready drawn up.

AND now the *Greeks* were all together, and quarter'd there, in many fine Houses, where they found Provisions in Abundance : For there was so great a Plenty of Wine, that they kept it in plaister'd Cisterns. Here *Xenophon* and *Cheirisophus* prevail'd upon the *Barbarians* to deliver up their
 Dead

Dead in Exchange for the Guide. These, BOOK
as far as they were able, they buried with IV.
all the Honours that are due to the Me-
mory of brave Men. The next Day they
march'd without a Guide, and the Enemy,
both by fighting with them, and seizing all
the Passes, endeavour'd to hinder them from
advancing. Whenever therefore they op-
pos'd the Vanguard, *Xenophon* ascending
the Mountains from behind, endeavour'd
to gain some Post that commanded the
Enemy, and by this Means open'd a Pas-
sage for those who were in the Van :
And, when they attack'd the Rear, *Chei-
risophus* ascended the Hills, and endea-
vouring also to get above the Enemy, re-
mov'd the Obstruction they gave to the
march of the Rear. Thus they were very
attentive to relieve one another. Some-
times also the *Barbarians*, after the *Greeks*
had ascended the Eminences, gave them
great Disturbance in their Descent : For they
were very nimble ; and though they came
near to our Men, yet still they got off,
having no other Arms but Bows and Slings.
They were very skilful Archers : Their Bows
were near three Cubits in length, and their
Arrows above two. When they discharg'd
their

BOOK their Arrows, ¹⁰ they drew the String by
 IV. pressing upon the lower part of the Bow

with

¹⁰ Εἰλκων δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξέουσιν, πρὸς τὸ
 κάτω τῷ τόξῳ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. This
 Passage has, I find, very much puzzled the Trans-
 lators. Both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have attempted
 to amend it: But, without entering into the Merits
 of those Amendments, I shall produce a Passage out
 of *Arrian*, which will, I believe, not only explain
 this, but also shew that no Amendment at all is ne-
 cessary. The Passage, I mean, is, where he is speak-
 ing of the *Indian Archers*, who, like these *Carduchians*
 in *Xenophon*, assisted themselves with their left Foot
 in drawing their strong Bows. It is this, οἱ μὲν
 πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι (τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι) τόξον τε ἔχουσιν ἰσόμενες
 τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον, καὶ ταῦτα κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέ-
 τεῖς, καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, ὥτως ἐκτοξ-
 εύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες.
 Where *Xenophon* says προβαίνοντες, which all the Trans-
 lators have been desirous to alter, *Arrian* says ἀντι-
 βάντες, which, I think, sufficiently explains it. The
 only Thing that remains is to take away the Comma
 after τόξῳ, that πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῷ τόξῳ may belong to
 τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες, and not to εἰλκων τὰς
 νευράς, as both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have trans-
 lated it; the first having said *nervos, emissuri sagittas,*
versus imam partem arcus tendebant; and *Hutchinson,*
nervos, cum sagittas missuri essent, ad imam arcus par-
tem adducebant: Neither of which has any Meaning,
 for I appeal to all my Brother Archers, (having the
 Honour to be of that Number) or indeed to any other
 Person, whether they understand what is meant by
 drawing the String to the lower Part of the Bow.
 After all this, I desire I may not be thought to claim
 any Advantage over those two learned Gentlemen by
 this Discovery, since I am entirely persuaded, that, had
 they chanc'd to cast their Eyes upon *Arrian*, while the
 Difficulties of this Passage were fresh in their Me-
 mories, which happen'd to be my Case, they would
 have

Arrian
 περὶ τῶν
 Ἰνδικῶν.

with their left Foot. " These Arrows pierc'd through the Shields and Corsets of our Men, who, taking them up, made Use of them instead of Darts, by fixing Thongs to them. In these Places the *Cretans* were of great Service. They were commanded by *Stratocles*, a *Cretan*.

THIS Day they staid in the Villages situate above the Plain that extends to the River *Centrates*, which is two hundred Feet broad, and the Boundary between *Armenia* and the Country of the *Carduchians*. Here the *Greeks* rested themselves. This River is about six or seven Stadia from

the have made the same, or a better Use of it. *D'Ab-lancourt* has left out that Part of the Passage, that occasions the Difficulty.

" Τα δὲ τοῦτοιματά ἐχώρησεν διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωακῶν. We find the Posterity of these *Carduchians* using the same Weapons with the same Success against the *Romans* in the Expedition of *Marcus Crassus*, the Death of whose Son, who was pierc'd by these irresistible Arrows, is so pathetically describ'd by *Plutarch*. *Mark Antony* also, and his Men, in their unfortunate Retreat, felt the violent Effect of them, which drew from him this Exclamation ὦ μύριοι! Happy the ten thousand *Greeks*, who being pursued by the same Enemies, retreated with so much better Success! but alas! his Thoughts and Heart were in *Egypt*, whither he was hastening, for which Reason all the Disadvantages his Army suffer'd from the *Parthians*, were grievous to him, rather as they were Delays, than Defeats.

Plutarch
in *Crassus*
and *Mark*
Antony.

BOOK the *Carduchian* Mountains. Here there-

IV.

fore they staid with great Satisfaction, having Plenty of Provisions, and often calling to Mind the Difficulties they had undergone: For, during the seven Days, they had march'd through the Country of the *Carduchians*, they were continually fighting, and suffer'd more than from all the Attempts of the King and *Tissaphernes*. Looking upon themselves therefore, as freed from these Hardships, they rested with Pleasure. But, as soon as it was Day, they saw a Body of Horse, on the other Side of the River, compleatly arm'd, and ready to oppose their Passage; and, above the Horse, another of Foot drawn up upon an Eminence, to hinder them from penetrating into *Armenia*. These were *Armenians*, *Mygdonians*, and *Chaldeans*, all mercenary Troops, belonging to *Orontas* and *Artuchus*. The *Chaldeans* were said to be a free People, and warlike: Their Arms were long Shields and Spears. The Eminence upon which they were drawn up, was about three or four hundred Feet from the River. The only Road the *Greeks* could discover, led upwards, and seem'd to have been made by Art.

Over-

Over-against this Road the *Greeks* endeavour'd to pass the River: But, upon Trial, they found the Water came up above their Breasts, that the River was render'd uneven by large slippery Stones; and that it was not possible for them to hold their Arms in the Water, which if they attempted, they were borne away by the Stream, and, if they carried them upon their Heads, they were expos'd to the Arrows, and the other missive Weapons of the Enemy. They retired therefore, and encamp'd on the Banks of the River.

FROM hence they discover'd a great Number of arm'd *Carduchians*, who were got together upon the Mountain, in the very Place where they had encamp'd the Night before. Here the *Greeks* were very much dishearten'd, seeing on one Side of them a River hardly passable, and the Banks of it cover'd with Troops to obstruct their Passage, and on the other, the *Carduchians* ready to fall upon their Rear, if they attempted it. This Day therefore, and the following Night, they remain'd in the same Place under great Perplexity. Here *Xenophon* had a Dream, he thought he was in Chains, and that his Chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he

BOOK found himself at Liberty, and went whither-
IV. soever he pleas'd. As soon as the first Dawn
 of Day appear'd, he went to *Cheirisophus*,
 and told him he was in hopes every thing
 would be well, and acquainted him with his
 Dream. *Cheirisophus* was pleas'd to hear it:
 And, while the Morn advanc'd, all the Gene-
 rals, who were present, offer'd Sacrifice, and
 the very first Victims were favourable. As
 soon therefore as the Sacrifice was over, the
 Generals and Captains departing order'd the
 Soldiers to ¹² get their Breakfast. While
Xenophon was at Breakfast, two young Men
 came to him, for it was well known that all
 Persons might have free access to him at his
 Meals; and, that, were he even asleep, they
 might wake him, if they had any Thing to
 communicate concerning the Operations of
 the War. These Youths inform'd him, that,
 while they were getting Brush-wood for the
 Fire, they saw on the other Side of the
 River, among the Rocks that reach'd down
 to

¹² Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. I have translated this in the
 same Sense *Homer* says of *Ulysses* and *Eumæus*,

Homer
Odyf. π.

Τὸ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ θεῖον ὑποβὸς
 Εὐτύνοιν ἄριστον ἄμ' ἦοι.—

Where ἄριστον is thus explain'd by the *Greek* Scholiast,
 τὴν ἰωθινὴν τροφὴν.

to it, an old Man, and a Woman with some Maid-Servants, hiding something, that look'd like Bags full of Clothes, in the hollow of a Rock. That, seeing this, they thought they might securely pass the River, because the Place was inaccessible to the Enemy's Horse. So they undress'd themselves, and, taking their naked Daggers in their Hands, propos'd to swim over: But the River being fordable, they found themselves on the other Side before the Water came up to their Middle: And, having taken the Clothes, re-pass'd it.

XENOPHON, hearing this, made a Libation himself, and order'd Wine to be given to the Youths to do the same, and that they should address their Prayers to the Gods, who had sent the Dream, and discover'd the Passage, to compleat their Happiness. After the Libation, he immediately carried the two Youths to *Cheirisophus*, to whom they gave the same Account. *Cheirisophus*, hearing this, made Libations also. After that they gave Orders to the Soldiers to get their Baggage ready. Then, assembling the Generals, they consulted with them in what Manner they should pass the River with most

BOOK Advantage, and both over-come those who
 IV. oppos'd them in Front, and secure themselves against the others who threaten'd their Rear. And it was resolv'd that *Cheirisophus* should lead the Van, and pass over with one half of the Army, while the other staid with *Xenophon*: And that the sumpter Horses, with all those that attended the Army, should pass in the middle. After this Disposition was made, they began their March. The two Youths led the way, keeping the River on their left. They had about four Stadia to go before they came to the Ford.

As they march'd on one Side of the River, several Bodies of Horse advanc'd on the other opposite to them. When they came to the Ford, and to the Bank of the River, the Men stood to their Arms, and first *Cheirisophus*, with a Garland upon his Head, pulled off his Clothes, and, taking his Arms, commanded all the rest to do the same: He then order'd the Captains to draw up their Companies in ¹³ Columns, and march some on his left Hand, and some on his right.

¹³ Λόχους ὀρθίως. See the ninth Annotation upon this Book.

right. In the mean Time the Priests offer'd Book
Sacrifice, and pour'd the Blood of the Vic- IV.
tims into the River; and the Enemy from
their Bows and Slings discharg'd a Volly of
Arrows and Stones, but none of them reach'd
our Men. After the Victims appear'd favour-
able, all the Soldiers sung the Pæan, and
14 shouted, and all the Women answer'd
them; for the Men had many Mistresses in
the Army.

IMMEDIATELY *Cheirisophus* with his
Men, went into the River; and *Xenophon*,
taking those of the Rear-guard, who were
most prepar'd for Expedition, march'd back
in all Haste to the Passage opposite to the
Road that led to the *Armenian* Moun-
tains, making a Feint, as if his Design was
to pass the River in that Place, and inter-
cept the Horse that were marching along
the Bank of it. The Enemy, seeing *Chei-*

S 3

risophus

14 Οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυσον δὲ αἱ
γυναῖκες. The first is known to be a military Shout,
the other is properly a supplicatory Acclamation of
Women: So *Homer* says of the *Trojan* Women adres-
sing their Prayers to *Minerva*,

Αἰ δ' ὀλόλυγῃ πᾶσαι Αθήνη χεῖρας ἀνέσχον.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiast observes, Φωνὴ δὲ αὕτη II. Z.
γυναικῶν εὐχομένων θεοῖς.

Homer

BOOK *risophus* with his Men passing the River
 IV. with great Ease, and *Xenophon*, with his
 Forces, marching back in all Haste, were afraid
 of being intercepted, and fled with Precipitation to the Road, that led from the River up into the Country. Having gain'd that Road, they continued their March up the Mountain. As soon as *Lycius*, who had the Command of the Horse, and *Æschines*, who commanded the Targeteers belonging to *Cheirisophus*, saw the Enemy flying with so much Haste, they pursued them, the rest of the Soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but would march up the Mountain in a Body. When *Cheirisophus* had passed the River with his Forces, he did not pursue the Horse, but marched along the Bank against the other Body of the Enemy that was posted upon the upper Ground. These, finding themselves abandoned by their Horse, and seeing our heavy-arm'd Men coming up to attack them, quitted the Eminence that commanded the River.

XENOPHON therefore perceiving every thing went well on the other Side, return'd in all Haste to the Army that was passing over; for, by this Time the *Carduchians* were seen descending into the Plain, as if they

they designed to fall upon the Rear. *Cheirifophus* had now possessed himself of the Eminence, and *Lycius*, while he was pursuing the Enemy, with a few of his Men, took Part of their Baggage that was left behind, and in it, rich Apparel, and drinking Cups. The Baggage of the *Greeks*, with those who had Charge of it, was yet passing; when *Xenophon*, facing about, drew up his Men against the *Carduchians*. He ordered all the Captains to divide their several Companies into two distinct Bodies of twenty-five Men each, and to extend their Front to the Left, and that

S 4

the

¹⁵ *Ἀλλ' ἵα τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο.* See the ninety-fourth Annotation upon the first Book.

¹⁶ *Λόχον.* See the forty-seventh Annotation upon the first Book.

¹⁷ *Καὶ ἐνωμοτίας.* See the thirtieth Annotation upon the third Book.

¹⁸ *Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.* This is the Reverse of *ἐπὶ κέρως*, which was explained in the ninth Annotation upon this Book. As therefore *ἐπὶ κέρως* is a Disposition, in which the Depth very much exceeds the Front, so *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος* is another, in which the Front very much exceeds the Depth.

¹⁹ *Παρ' ἀσπίδας.* All the ancient Masters of Tactics inform us, that *ἐπὶ δόρυ κλῖνον*, *ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλῖνον*, were Words of Command among the *Greeks* for the Foot; the first signifying to the Pike, that is, to the Right, and the second, to the Shield, that is, to the Left; and that the Words of Command for the Horse were the same as to the first, but that, instead of the second, they said, *ἐφ' ἡνίαν κλῖνον*, to the Bridle.

BOOK the Captains with the Leaders of these di-
 IV. stinct Bodies should march against the *Cardu-*
 { *chians*, while the ²⁰ hindmost Men of every
 File posted themselves upon the Bank of the
 River.

Now the *Carduchians*, when they saw
 the Rear reduced to a few by the Departure
 of those who had Charge of the Baggage,
 advanc'd the faster, singing as they came on.
 Upon this *Cheirisophus*, seeing all on his
 Side was secure, sent the Targeteers, the
 Slingers, and Archers to *Xenophon*, with Di-
 rections to do whatever he commanded :
 But he, as soon as he saw them coming
 down the Hill, sent a Messenger to them
 with Orders to halt, as soon as they came to
 the River ; and, that when they saw him
 begin to pass it with his Men, they should
 come forward in the Water on each side
 opposite to him, ²¹ the Darters with their

Fingers

Arrian,
 in his
 Tactics.

²⁰ Ουραγός. These in *Arrian* are, what we call
 the *Bringers-up*, that is, the hindmost Men of every
 File.

²¹ Ακονιστής. The Ακόντιον, or Dart, was pro-
 perly part of the Arms both of the Targeteers and
 light-arm'd Men, as the Reader will see, if he pleases
 to cast his Eye on the fifth Annotation upon the first
 Book, where he will also find that these were different
 Corps, and differently arm'd ; so that *d' Ablancourt*
 should

Fingers in the ²² Slings of their Darts, and Book
the Archers with their Arrows on the String, IV.

as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the River. At the same Time he ordered his own Men, when they came near enough to the Enemy to reach them with their Slings, and the heavy-arm'd Men ²³ struck their Shields with their Pikes, to ²⁴ sing the Pæan, and rush at once upon the Enemy: And, when they were put to Flight, and the Trumpet from the River ²⁵ sounded a Charge, to face about to the

Right,

should not have comprehended under the general Name of *gens de Trait*, the Targeteers, Slingers and Archers, whom *Cheirisophus* sent to the Relief of *Xenophon*.

²² Διηκυλισμένους, &c. Διηκυλίσθαι, τὸ ἐνεῖραι τὰς δακτύλους τῇ ἀλγύλῃ τῷ ἀκουσίῳ. *Hesychius*. Ἀλγύλη is what the *Romans* called *Amentum*, the Thong or Sling with which they lanc'd their Darts.

²³ Ἀσπίς ψοφῇ. I have said *when the heavy-arm'd Men struck their Shields with their Pikes*, because the Ἀσπίς, or Shield properly belong'd to the heavy-arm'd Men, as may be seen in the fifth Annotation upon the first Book. The light-arm'd Men being ἀνευ ἀσπίδος, as *Arrian* says there, *without a Shield*, and the Targeteers having πέλιν, a Target instead of it. This Arrian, Ἀνάβ, Custom of striking their Shields with their Pikes upon Ἀλεξ. an Attack, continued among the *Greeks* in *Alexander's* 1 B. Time, as may be seen in *Arrian*.

²⁴ Παιανίσαντες. See the 126th Annotation upon the first Book.

²⁵ Ὁ σαλπικτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν. This seems to have deserved the Attention of the Commentators; τὸ πολεμικόν σημαίνει, every body knows, signifies to sound

BOOK Right ²⁶, and that the hindmost Men of
 IV. every File should lead the Way, and all make
 what Haste they could to the River, which
 they were to pass in their Ranks, that they
 might not hinder one another; telling them
 that he should look upon him as the bravest
 Man, who first reach'd the opposite Side.

THE *Carduchians*, seeing those who remain'd, but few in Number, (for many even of those who had Orders to stay, were gone, some to take Care of the sumpter Horses, some of their Baggage, and others of ²⁷ other things) came up boldly towards them, and began to use their Slings and Bows.

But,

found a Charge, as τὸ ἀντακλῆτικὸν σημαίνειν, *to found a Retreat*; why therefore should *Xenophon* order a Charge to be sounded, when his Men were to retreat? I imagine his Intention was, to make the Enemy fly the faster, that so they might be at a greater Distance from them, when they were engaged in passing the River; and this seems to have been the Effect of it, for *Xenophon* will tell us presently, that, when the Trumpet sounded, the Enemy fled much faster than before.

²⁶ Ἐπὶ δόρυ. See the nineteenth Annotation upon this Book.

²⁷ Ἐτάισιν. I have followed the *Eton* Manuscript in translating this Word. *Hutchinson* says it should be Ἐταίρων, because *Xenophon* has very lately told us, that the Soldiers had a great many *Mistresses* with them; but in that Case it should have been ἑταίρων, not ἑταίρων.

But, when the *Greeks*, singing the Pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them, (for though they were well enough arm'd for a sudden Onset and Retreat upon the Mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all so to fight Hand to Hand.) In the mean Time the Trumpet sounded, upon which the Enemy fled much faster than before; and the *Greeks*, facing about, pass'd the River in all Haste. Some of the Enemy seeing this, ran back to the River, and wounded a few of our Men with their Arrows; but many of them, even when the *Greeks* were on the other Side, were observ'd to continue their Flight. In the mean Time those who had met them in the River, carried on by their Courage, advanc'd unseasonably, and repass'd it after *Xenophon* and his Men were on the other Side; by this Means some of these also were wounded.

THE Army, having pass'd the River about Noon, drew up in their Ranks, and, in this manner, march'd at once over the Plain of *Armenia* intermix'd with Hills of an easy Ascent, making no less than five Parasangas: For there were no Villages near the River,

by

Book by Reason of the continual Wars with the

IV. *Carduchiâns*. However at last they came
to a large Village, that had a Palace in it
belonging to the ²⁸ Satrape, and upon most
of the Houses there were Turrets: Here
they found Provisions in Abundance. From
this Place they made, in two Days March,
ten Parafangas, till they were advanc'd a-
bove the Head of the *Tigris*. From thence
they made fifteen Parafangas in three Days
March, and came to the River *Teleboas*.
This ²⁹ River though not large, was beau-
tiful, and had many fine Villages on its
Banks: This Country was called the western
Part of *Armenia*. The Governour of it
was *Teribazus*, who had behav'd himself
with great Fidelity to the King, and, when
he was present, no other ³⁰ lifted the King
on

²⁸ Τῷ Σατραπῇ. See the * after the fourth Anno-
tation upon the first Book.

Demet.

Phal. of
Eloquence,
Sec. 121.

²⁹ Οὐτὸς δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν ὁ, καλὸς δέ. *Demetrius*
Phalereus gives great Commendations to this Period:
He says, that, by the Conciseness of it, and its Ter-
mination in δέ, the Author almost lays before our
Eyes the smallness of the River.

See the
34th An-
notation
upon the
3d Book.

³⁰ Οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν.
I was desirous to excuse *d'Ablancourt*, when, in the
third Book, he made the *Persians* saddle their Horses;
but don't know what to alledge in his Defence upon
this Occasion, where he has given them Stirrups as
well as Saddles. I shall say no more than that *il lui*
tenoit

on Horseback. This Person rode up to-
wards the *Greeks* with a Body of Horse,
and, sending his Interpreter, acquainted them
that he desired to speak with their Com-
manders. Upon this the Generals thought
proper to hear what he had to say, and,
advancing within hearing, ask'd him what
he wanted. He answer'd that he was wil-
ling to enter into a League with them upon
these Terms : That He should not do any In-
jury to the *Greeks*, or they burn the Houses,
but have Liberty to take what Provisions
they wanted. The Generals agreed to this
so they concluded a League upon these Con-
ditions.

BOOK
IV.

FROM thence they advanc'd through a
Plain, and in three Days March made fifteen
Parasangas, *Teribazus* following them with
his Forces, at the Distance of about ten
Stadia; when they came to a Palace sur-
rounded with many Villages abounding in
all Sorts of Provisions. While they lay
encamp'd in this Place, there fell so great

a

tenoit l'etrier lorsqu'il montoit à cheval, is an unfortunate
Translation of βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. It
is very well known that the Ancients, having no Stir-
rups, had a Person whom the *Greeks* called Ἀναβόλεϋς,
and the *Latins* *Strator*, to lift them on Horseback.

BOOK a ¹¹ Snow in the Night, that it was resolv'd
 IV. the next Morning the Soldiers, with their
 { Generals, should remove into the Villages,
 and quarter there : for no Enemy appeared ;
 and the great Quantity of Snow seem'd a
 Security to them. Here they found all sorts
 of good Provisions ; such as Cattle, Corn,
 old Wines exceeding fragrant, Raisins and
 Legu-

Tourne-
 fort, *Let-*
ter 18.

Boerhaave
Chymistry
Part 2.

Plutarch
in Lucull.

Zonaras's
Annals,
tom. 2.
pag. 225.
of Wol-
sius's Edit.
at Basil,
 1557.

Tourne-
 fort, *ib.*

³¹ *Επιπίπτει χιών ἀπλεῖς*. Lest the Veracity of
 our Author should be suspected, when he speaks of
 deep Snows and excessive Frosts in *Armenia*, a Country
 lying between the fortieth and forty-third Degrees of
 Latitude, I desire it may be considered, that all Au-
 thors, both ancient and modern, agree that the Hills
 of this Country are covered with Snow ten Months
 in the Year. *Tournefort*, who was an Eye-witness of
 it, thinks that the Earth, upon these Hills, being im-
 pregnated with Sal Ammoniac, the Cold occasioned
 by it, may hinder the Snow from melting ; to support
 this, he says, that this Salt being dissolv'd in any Li-
 quor, renders it excessive cold. This puts me in mind
 of an Experiment mentioned by *Boerhaave* as having
 been made by himself ; he says that four Ounces of
 this Salt being infused in twelve of Water, generated
 twenty-eight Degrees of Cold ; though I rather believe
 that the Reason why the Tops of Mountains in the
 warmest Climates are generally covered with Snow, while
 the Plains below are often parch'd with Heat, is,
 because the Atmosphere is vastly less compressed upon
 the Top than at the Foot of those Mountains. What-
 ever may be the Cause, the Fact is certain. When
Lucullus, in his Expedition against *Mithridates*, march'd
 through *Armenia*, his Army suffered as much by the
 Frost and Snow, as the Greeks under *Xenophon* : And, when
Alexander Severus return'd through this Country, many
 of his Men lost their Hands and Feet through excessive
 Cold. *Tournefort* also complains that, at *Erzeron*, though
 situated in a Plain, his Fingers were so benumbed with
 Cold, he could not write 'till an Hour after Sun-rise.

Legumens of all Kinds. In the mean Time Book IV.
some of the Men, who had straggled from the Camp, brought Word that they had seen an Army, and that in the Night many Fires appeared. For this Reason the Generals thought it not safe for the Troops to quarter in the Villages at a Distance from one another ; so resolv'd to bring the Army together. Upon this they re-assembled, and it was determin'd to encamp abroad. While they pass'd the Night in this Camp, there fell so great a Quantity of Snow, that it cover'd both the Arms and the Men as they lay upon the Ground : The sumpter Horses also were so benumbed with the Snow, that it was with Difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable Sight to see the Men lie upon the Ground still cover'd with Snow. But, when *Xenophon* was so hardy as to rise naked, and rive Wood, immediately another got up, and, taking the Wood from him, cleft it himself. Upon this they all rose up, and, making Fires, anointed themselves ; for they found there many Sorts of Ointments, which serv'd them instead of Oil, as Hogs-grease, Oil of Sesame, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpentine.

Book time. There was also found a precious Oint-
 IV. ment made of all these.

AFTER this they determined to disperse themselves again in the Villages, and quarter under Cover. Upon which the Soldiers ran with great Shouts and Pleasure to the Houses and Provisions: But those who had set Fire to the Houses, when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping abroad, expos'd to the Inclemency of the Weather. From hence they sent that Night a Detachment to the Mountains, where the Stragglers said they had seen the Fires, under the Command of *Democrates of Temenus*, because he was ever thought to give a true Account of Things of this Nature, reporting Matters as they really were. At his Return he said he had seen no Fires, but, having taken a Prisoner, he brought him with him. This Man had a ³² *Persian* Bow and Quiver, and ³³ an *Amazonian* Battle-Ax; and, being ask'd of what Country he was, he said he was a *Persian*, and that he went from the Army of *Teribazus* to

get

³² Τόξον Περσικόν. See Page the 218th where *Tisaphernes* attacks the *Greeks*.

³³ Σάλαριν. Σάλαρις. κοπίς. ἢ πέλκευς. *Suidas*: Where he quotes this Passage.

get Provisions. Upon this they ask'd him Book
 of what Numbers that Army consisted, and IV.
 with what Intention it was assembled. He
 answer'd, that *Teribazus*, besides his own
 Army, had mercenary Troops of *Chalybians*
 and *Taochians*; and, that his Design was to
 attack the *Greeks* in their Passage over the
 Mountains, as they marched through the
 Defile, which was their only Road.

THE Generals, hearing this, resolv'd to
 assemble the Army, and, leaving a Guard in
 the Camp under the command of *Sophæne-*
tus of *Stymphalus*, they immediately set
 forward, taking the Prisoner with them for
 their Guide. After they had pass'd the
 Mountains, the *Targeteers*, who march'd
 before the rest, as soon as they discovered
 the Enemy's Camp, ran to it with Shouts;
 without staying for the heavy-arm'd Men.
 The Barbarians, hearing the Tumult, did not
 stand their Ground, but fled. However, some
 of them were killed, and about Twenty
 Horses taken, as was also the Tent of *Te-*
ribazus, in which they found Beds with
 Silver Feet, and drinking Cups, with some
 Prisoners, who said they were his Bakers

BOOK and Cup-Bearers. When the Commanders
IV. of the heavy-arm'd Men were inform'd of
all that pass'd, they determin'd to return in
all Haste to their own Camp, lest any At-
tempt should be made upon those they had
left there; and immediately ordering a
Retreat to be sounded, they return'd, and
arriv'd there the same Day.

THE next Day they resolv'd to march a-
way with all the haste they could, before the
Enemy should rally their Forces, and possess
themselves of the Pass. Their Baggage
therefore being presently ready, they set for-
ward through a deep Snow with many Guides;
and, having the same Day pass'd the Emi-
nence, upon which *Teribazus* design'd to
attack them, they encamp'd. From thence
they made three Marches through a Desert,
and came to the *Euphrates* which they
pass'd, the Water coming up to their Na-
vel. It was said the Sources of this River
were not far off. From thence they made,
in three Days March, fifteen Parasangas over
a Plain cover'd with a deep Snow. The last
Day's March was very grievous, for the
North Wind, blowing full in their Faces, quite
parch'd and benumbed the Men. Upon this
one

one of the Priests advis'd to sacrifice to the Wind, which was complied with, and the Vehemence of it visibly abated. The Snow was a Fathom in Depth, insomuch that many of the Slaves and sumpter Horses died, and about thirty Soldiers. They made Fires all Night, for they found Plenty of Wood in the Place where they encamped; and those who came late, having no Wood, the others, who were before arrived, and had made Fires, would not allow them to warm themselves, 'till they had given them a Share of the Wheat, or of the other Provisions they had brought with them. By this Exchange they reliev'd one another's Wants. In the Places where the Fires were made, the Snow being melted, there were large Pits which reach'd down to the Ground; this afforded an Opportunity of measuring the Depth of the Snow.

FROM thence they march'd all the next Day through the Snow, when many of the Men contracted the ³⁵ Bulimy. *Xenophon*, who

³⁵ Εβυλιμιάσαν. The Bulimy is a Distemper creating excessive Hunger; it is thus described with all its Symptoms by *Galen*: Βύλιμος ἐστὶ διάθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἐπιζήτησις ἐκ μικρῶν διαλειμμάτων γίνεται τροφῆς. *Galen. Med. Def. vol. 2.*

F 2

Εκλύουσαι

BOOK
IV.

who commanded the Rear, seeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what their Distemper was: But, being inform'd by those who were acquainted with it, that it was plainly the Bulimy, and that, if they eat any thing, they would rise again, he went to the Baggage, and, whatever Refreshments he found there, he gave some to those who were afflicted with this Distemper; and sent Persons able to go about, to divide the rest among others, who were in the same Condition: And, as soon as they had eaten something, they rose up, and continued their March. During which, *Cheirisophus* came to a Village, just as it was dark, and, at a Fountain without the Walls, he found some Women and Girls, who belong'd to it, carrying Water. These enquired who they were; the Interpreter answered in *Persian* that they were going to the Satrape from

Εκλύουσαι δὲ καὶ καλαπίπῃσι, καὶ ἀχροῦσι καὶ καλαψόχουσαι τὰ ἄκρα, θλίβουσαι τε τὸν σόμαχον, καὶ ὁ σφυγμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυδρὸς γίνεσθαι. *The Bulimy is a Disorder in which the Patient frequently craves for Victuals, loses the Use of his Limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his Extremities become cold, his Stomach*

Transl.

Philosoph.

Nº. 264.

p. 598.

And Tom.

Philosophical Transactions speak of a Countryman who was violently afflicted with this Distemper, but was cured by voiding several Worms of the Length and 3. p. 111. Bigness of a Tobacco-pipe.

from the King. The Women replied, that he was not there, but at a Place distant about a Parasanga from thence. As it was late, they enter'd the Walls together with the Women, and went to the Bailiff of the Town. Here *Cheirisophus* encamp'd with all that could come up. The rest, who were unable to continue their March, pass'd the Night without Victuals or Fire, by which Means some of them perish'd: And a Party of the Enemy, following our March, took some of the sumpter Horses that could not keep Pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the Men also, who had lost their Sight by the Snow, or whose Toes were rotted off by the Intensity of the Cold, were left behind. The Eyes were reliev'd against the Snow by wearing something black before them, and the Feet against the Cold, by continual Motion, and by pulling off their Shoes in the Night. If any slept with their Shoes on, the Latches pierc'd their Flesh, and their Shoes stuck to their Feet; for, when their old Shoes were worn out, they wore ³⁶ Carbatines made of

³⁶ Καρβατίνας. Καρβατίνη μὲν, ἀγροικῶν ὑπόδημα, καλεῖται ὑπὸ Κασῶν. *Julius Pollux.* I hope I shall be excus'd

BOOK of raw Hides. These Grievances therefore

IV. occasion'd some of the Soldiers to be left
 behind; who, seeing a Piece of Ground
 that appear'd black, because there was no
 Snow upon it, concluded it was melted;
 and melted it was by a Vapour that was
 continually exhaling from a Fountain in a
 Valley near the Place. Thither they betook
 themselves, and, sitting down, refus'd to
 march any farther. *Xenophon*, who had
 Charge of the Rear, as soon as he was in-
 form'd of this, tried all Means to prevail
 upon them not to be left behind, telling
 them that the Enemy were got together in
 great Numbers, and followed them close.
 At last he grew angry. They bid him kill
 them, if he would, for they were not able
 to go on. Upon this he thought the best
 Thing he could do, was, if possible, to
 strike a Terror into the Enemy that followed,
 lest they should fall upon the Men who were
 tired. It was now dark, and the Enemy
 came on with great Tumult, quarrelling
 with one another about their Booty. Upon
 this, such of the Rear-Guard as were well,

rising

excus'd for calling these ὑποδήματα Shoes. All the
 Monuments of Antiquity shew the Ancients wore a
 kind of Sandal instead of Shoes, but, as this is not ge-
 nerally understood, I have chosen the latter.

rising up, rush'd upon them; while those who were tired, shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their Shields with their Pikes. The Enemy, alarm'd at this, threw themselves into the Valley through the Snow, and were no more heard of. Book IV.

THEN *Xenophon*, with the rest of the Forces, went away, assuring the sick Men, that, the next Day, some People should be sent to them: But, before they had gone four Stadia, they found others taking their Rest in the Snow, and cover'd with it, no Guard being appointed. These they oblig'd to rise, who acquainted him, that those in the Head of the Army did not move forward. *Xenophon*, hearing this, went on, and, sending the ablest of the Targeteers before, order'd them to see what was the Occasion of the Stop. They brought Word that the whole Army took their Rest in that Manner. So that *Xenophon* and his Men, after they had appointed such Guards as they were able, pass'd the Night there also without either Fire or Victuals. When it was near Day, he sent the youngest of his Men to oblige the Sick to get up and come away. In the mean Time *Cheirisophus* sent some from the Village to enquire in what

BOOK Condition the Rear was. These were re-
IV. joic'd to see them, and, having deliver'd their

Sick to them to be conducted to the Camp, they march'd forward : And, before they had gone twenty Stadia, they found themselves in the Village, where *Cheirisophus* was quarter'd. When they came together, they were of Opinion that the Army might quarter in the Villages with Safety. So *Cheirisophus* staid in the Place he was in, and the rest went to the several Villages that were allotted to them.

HERE *Polycrates*, an *Athenian*, one of the Captains, desir'd he might have Leave to absent himself; and, taking with him those who were most prepar'd for Expedition, he made such Haste to the Village that had fallen to *Xenophon's* Lot, that he surprized all the Inhabitants together with their Bailiff in their Houses. He found here seventeen Colts, that were bred as a Tribute for the King; and also the Bailiff's Daughter, who had not been married above nine Days. However, her Husband, being gone to hunt the Hare, was not taken in any of the Villages. Their Houses were under Ground; the Mouth resembling that of a Well, but spacious

spacious below : There was an Entrance dug Book
for the Cattle, but the Inhabitants descended IV.
by Ladders. In these Houses were Goats,
Sheep, Cows and Fowls, with their young.
All the Cattle were maintained within
Doors with Fodder. There was also Wheat,
Barley, and Legumens, and ³⁷ Beer in Jars,
in which the Malt it self floated even
with the Brims of the Vessels, and with it
Reeds, some large, and others small, with-
out Joints. These, when any one was dry,
he was to take into his Mouth and suck.

The

³⁷ Οὐκ χρῖθιν. Literally Barley Wine. *Dio-* Diodorus
dorus Siculus tells us, that *Osiris*, that is, the *Egyptian* Siculus,
Bacchus, was the Inventor of Malt Liquor as a Relief *B.*
to those Countries, where Vines did not succeed, which
is the Reason assign'd by *Herodotus* for the *Egyptians* *Herodotus*
using it. This was also the Liquor used in *France*, 'till *in* *Euterpe*,
the Time of the Emperor *Probus*, when Vines were
first planted there. *Pliny* says they called it *Cervisia*, a *Plin. N.H.*
Word probably deriv'd from *Cervoise*, which, among the *22 B.*
ancient *Gauls*, signified Beer. *Julian*, who was Gover-
nour of *France*, before he was Emperor, vents his
Spleen against Malt-Liquor, which Necessity, or rather
Ignorance, in his Time, had made the Drink of that
Country. As there is a good deal of Poetry in the
Invention both of the Person of this unknown *Bac-*
chus, and of his Qualities, the Reader may not be
displeas'd to find the Epigram here :

Τίς ; πόθεν ἔι Διόνυσε ; μα γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον Antholog.

Οὐ σ' ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνου. 1 B.

Κεῖν νεκτάρ' ὀδῶδε· σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἢ ῥά σε Κελτοί,

Τῇ πενίῃ βοτρυῶν, τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσάχυν.

Τῷ σε χρὴ καλεῖν Δημήτριον ἢ Διόνυσον,

Πυρογενὴ μάλλον, ἢ Βρόμον, ἢ Βρόμιον.

BOOK The Liquor was very strong, when unmixed
IV. with Water, and exceeding pleasant to those
who were used to it.

XENOPHON invited the Bailiff of this Village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this Assurance, that his Children should not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his House full of Provisions in Return for those they took, provided he performed some signal Service to the Army, by conducting them, 'till they came to another Nation. The Bailiff promis'd to perform this, and, as an Instance of his Good-will, inform'd them where there was Wine buried. The Soldiers rested that Night in their several Quarters in the midst of Plenty, keeping a Guard upon the Bailiff, and having an Eye at the same Time upon his Children. The next Day *Xenophon*, taking the Bailiff along with him, went to *Cheirisophus*, and, in every Village, through which he passed, made a Visit to those, who were quarter'd there; and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to Dinner with them, and he every where found the Tables cover'd
with

with Lamb, Kid, Pork, Veal and Fowls; with Plenty of Bread, some made of Wheat, and some of Barley. When any one had a Mind to drink to his Friend, he took him to the Jar, where he was oblig'd to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an Ox. The Soldiers gave the Bailiff leave to take whatever he desir'd; but he took nothing, only wherever he met with any of his Relations, he carried them along with him. BOOK IV.

WHEN they came to *Cheirisophus* they found them also³⁸ feasting, and crown'd with Garlands made of Hay, and *Armenian* Boys, in *Barbarian* Dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by Signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* had embrac'd one another, they ask'd the Bailiff, by their Interpreter who spoke the *Persian* Language, what Country it was. He answer'd, *Armenia*. After that they ask'd him

³⁸ Σκηναύτας. *Xenophon* uses σκηνή in the same Sense in his *Cyropædia*, where he says, τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς τοὺς κοιτῆρας διέλυσεν, *they dissolv'd the Feast to retire to Rest.* *Cyrus*, *Hutchinson* has supported this Sense of the Word from other Passages out of our Author. Had *Leunclavius* attended to them, he would not have render'd this Passage, *illos etiam milites & ab Teetis reperiunt.* D' *Ablancourt* has said much better, *ils trouverent tout le monde à Table.* Xenophon 2 B.

BOOK him for whom the Horses were bred. He

IV. said for the King, as a Tribute. He added

that the neighbouring Country was inhabited by the *Chalybians*, and inform'd them of the Road that led to it. After that *Xenophon* went away, carrying back the Bailiff to his Family, and gave him the Horse he had taken some time before, which was an old one, with a Charge that he should recover him for a Sacrifice, (for he had heard he was consecrated to the Sun) being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the Journey, he should die. At the same Time he took one of the young Horses for himself, and gave one of them to each of the Generals and Captains. The Horses of this Country are less than those of *Persia*, but have a great deal more Spirit. Upon this Occasion the Bailiff taught us to tie Bags to the Feet of the Horses and Beasts of Burden, when they travell'd through the Snow, for, without them, they sunk up to their Bellies.

AFTER they had staid here eight Days, *Xenophon* deliver'd the Bailiff to *Cheirisa-phus*, to serve him as a Guide, and left him all his Family, except his Son, a Youth just in the Flower of his Age. This Youth he committed
to

to the Charge of *Episthenis* of *Amphipolis*, with a Design to send him back with his Father, if he conducted them in a proper Manner. At the same Time they carried as many Things as they could into his House, and, decamping, march'd away. The Bailiff conducted them through the Snow unbound. They had now march'd three Days, when *Cheirisophus* grew angry with him for not carrying them to some Villages. The Bailiff said there were none in that Part of the Country. Upon this *Cheirisophus* struck him, but did not order him to be bound: So that he made his Escape in the Night, leaving his Son behind him. This ill Treatment and Neglect of the Bailiff was the Cause of the only Difference, that happened between *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* during their whole March. *Episthenis* took an Affection to the Youth and, carrying him into *Greece*, found great Fidelity in him.

AFTER this they made seven Marches at the Rate of five Parasangas each Day, and arriv'd at the River ³⁹ *Phasis*, which is about

³⁹ Παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν. It must be observ'd that this is not the River *Phasis*, which falls into the *Euxine* Sea, and to which Sportsmen are oblig'd for the Breed

BOOK about one hundred Feet in Breadth. From
 IV. thence they made, in two Marches, ten Para-
 fangas; when they found the *Chalybians*,
Taochians, and *Phasians* posted upon the Pas-
 sage that led over the Mountains to the Plain.
 As soon as *Cheirisophus* saw the Enemy in
 Possession of that Post, he halted at the
 Distance of about thirty Stadia, that he might
 not approach them while the Army march'd
 in a Column: For which Reason he ⁴⁰ or-
 der'd the Captains to bring up their Com-
 panies to the Front, that the Army might
 be drawn up in a Line.

WHEN the Rear-Guard came up, he
 call'd the Generals and Captains together,
 and spoke to them in this Manner. " The
 " Enemy, you see, are Masters of the Pass
 " over

Delisle.

Breed of Pheasants. *Delisle* is of opinion, that the
Phasis here mention'd is the *Araxes*, which falls into
 the *Caspian* Sea, the same, whose impetuous Course is
 so boldly describ'd by *Virgil*,

Virgil
Æneid.
 8 B.

———— *Pontem indignatus Araxes.*

⁴⁰ Παρήγειλε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τὰς λόχους,
 ὅπως ἐπὶ Φάλαγγ' ἔγονιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. The Trans-
 lators do not seem to have attended to the Force of the
 word παράγειν in this Place; it is a military Term, and
 signifies to bring up the Files to the Front, and march
 in a Line, in which Disposition *Cheirisophus* propos'd
 to attack upon this occasion: This is called παραγωγή
 by *Arrian*, the reverse of which is ἐπαγωγή, as ἐπι-
 σάτης is of παρασάτης.

Arrian in
 his Tac-
 tics.

“ over the Mountain. We are therefore
 “ now to consider in what Manner we
 “ may charge them with the greatest Ad- BOOK
 “ vantage. It is my Opinion that while the IV.
 “ Soldiers get their Dinner, we should con-
 “ sult among ourselves, whether it will be
 “ most proper to attempt the Passage to-day,
 “ or stay ’till to-morrow.” “ My Advice is,
 “ says *Cleanor*, that, as soon as we have
 “ dined, we should take our Arms, and
 “ attack the Enemy ; for, if we defer it ’till
 “ to-morrow, this Delay will inspire those
 “ who observe us with Confidence, and
 “ their Confidence, will, in all Probability,
 “ draw others to their Assistance.”

AFTER him *Xenophon* said. “ This is
 “ my Sense of the Matter. If we are obliged
 “ to fight, we ought to prepare our selves to
 “ fight with all possible Bravery : But, if
 “ we propose to pass the Mountain in the
 “ easiest manner, we are to consider by
 “ what means we may receive the fewest
 “ Wounds, and lose the fewest Men. The
 “ Mountain that lies before us, reaches a-
 “ bove sixty Stadia in Length, and, in all this
 “ Extent, no Guard appears to be posted any
 “ where, but only in this Part. For which
 “ Reason

BOOK " Reason I should think it more for our Ad-
IV. " vantage to endeavour to surprize some un-
" guarded Place upon the Mountain, and, if
" possible, prevent their seizing it, than to
" attack a Post already fortified, and Men
" prepared to resist: For it is easier to climb
" a steep Ascent, without fighting, than to
" march upon plain Ground, when the
" Enemy are posted on both Sides of us.
" We can also better see what lies before
" us in the Night, when we are not oblig'd
" to fight, than in the Day-time, when we
" are: And the roughest Way is easier to
" those who march without fighting, than
" an even Way, to those whose Heads are
" exposed to the Darts of an Enemy. Nei-
" ther do I think it impossible for us to
" steal such a March, since we may have
" the Advantage of the Night to conceal
" us, and may take so great a Circuit as
" not to be discover'd. I am also of Opi-
" nion, that, if we make a false Attack
" upon the Post which is possessed by the
" Enemy, we shall, by that means, find
" the rest of the Mountain more unguard-
" ed: For this will oblige them to keep
" all their Forces in a Body. But why do

" I

" I mention Stealing? " Since I am in- Book
 " form'd, O *Cheirisophus*! that among IV.
 " you *Lacedæmonians*, those of the first
 " Rank practise it from their Childhood,
 " and that, instead of being a Dishonour,
 " it is your Duty to steal those Things
 " which the Law has not forbidden: And
 " to the End you may learn to steal with
 " the greatest Dexterity and Secrecy ima-
 " ginable, your Laws have provided that
 " those who are taken in a Theft, shall be
 " whipp'd. This is the Time therefore for
 " you to shew how far your Education has
 " improv'd you, and to take Care that, in
 " stealing this March, we are not discover'd,
 " lest we smart severely for it".

CHEIRISOPHUS answer'd, " I am
 " also inform'd, that you *Athenians* are
 " very expert in stealing the publick Money,
 " notwithstanding the great Danger you are
 " expos'd

" Ὅτι γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκὴν τὰς Λα-
 κεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπ-
 τεῖν μελετῶν. Those who among the *Lacedæmonians*
 were called ὁμοιοί, and among the *Persians* ὁμότιμοι,
 by the *Greeks*, under which Name *Xenophon* often
 speaks of them in his Institution of *Cyrus*, agree very
 well with what the *Gothick* Government calls *Peers*,
 with us, and with the *French*, *Pairs*; *Persons of equal*
Dignity.

BOOK " expos'd to, and that your best Men are the
 IV. " most expert at it, that is, if you chuse
 { " your best Men for your Magistrates. So
 " that this is a proper Time for you also
 " to shew the Effects of your Education."
 " I am ready, replies *Xenophon*, to march
 " with the Rear-Guard, as soon as we have
 " supp'd, in order to possess myself of the
 " Mountain. I have Guides with me : for
 " our light-arm'd Men have, in an Ambus-
 " cade, taken some of the Marauders, that
 " follow the Army. By these I am inform'd
 " that the Mountain is not inaccessible, but
 " that Goats and Oxen graze upon it, so
 " that, if we are once Masters of any Part
 " of it, it will be accessible also to our
 " sumpter Horses. Neither do I believe the
 " Enemy will keep their Post, when they
 " see we are Masters of the Summit, and
 " upon an Equality with themselves ; be-
 " cause they are now unwilling to come
 " down to us upon equal Ground." But
Cheirisophus said, " Why should you go,
 " and leave the Charge of the Rear ? Rather
 " send others, unless any offer themselves
 " to this Service." Upon this *Aristonymus*
 of *Methydria* presented himself with his
 heavy-arm'd Men, and *Aristeus* of *Chius*,
 and

and *Nicomachus* of *Oete*, both with their light-arm'd. And it was agreed that, when they had possess'd themselves of the Summit, they should light several Fires. When these Things were settled, they went to Dinner, after which *Cheirisophus* led the whole Army within ten Stadia of the Enemy, as if he had absolutely resolv'd to march that Way.

BOOK
IV.

SUPPER being ended, and Night coming on, those who had Orders march'd away, and made themselves Masters of the Top of the Mountain. The others went to Rest where they were. The Enemy, finding our Men were possess'd of that Post, remain'd under Arms, and made many Fires all Night. As soon as it was Day, *Cheirisophus*, after he had offer'd Sacrifice, led his Forces up the Road, while those who had gain'd the Summit, attack'd the Enemy; great Part of whom staid to defend the Pass, and the rest advanc'd against those who were Masters of the Eminence. But, before *Cheirisophus* could come up to the Enemy, those upon the Summit were engag'd; where our Men had the Advantage, and drove the Enemy before them. In the mean Time

BOOK the *Greek* Targeteers ran on from the Plain
 IV. to attack those who were ready drawn up to
 receive them, and *Cheirisophus*, at the Head
 of the heavy-arm'd Men, followed as fast as
 was consistent with a regular March. How-
 ever the Enemy that were posted in the Pass,
 when they saw those above give way,
 fled also. When great Numbers of them
 were slain, and many of their Bucklers ta-
 ken, which the *Greeks*, by cutting them to
 Pieces, render'd uselefs. As soon as they
 had gain'd the Ascent, they offer'd Sacrifice,
 and, having erected a Trophy, march'd down
 into the Plain, where they found Villages
 well stored with all Sorts of Provisions.

FROM hence they came to the Country of
 the *Taochians*, making, in five Marches,
 thirty Parasangas; and here their Provisions
 began to fail them: For the *Taochians* in-
 habited Fastnesses, into which they had
 convey'd all their Provisions. At last the
 Army arriv'd at a strong Place, which
 had neither City, nor Houses upon it, but
 where great Numbers of Men and Women
 with their Cattle were assembled. This
 Place *Cheirisophus* order'd to be attack'd
 the Moment he came before it, and, when
 the

the first Company suffer'd, another went up, and then another; for the Place being surrounded with Precipices, they could not attack it on all Sides at once. When *Xenophon* came up with the Rear-Guard, the Targeteers and heavy-arm'd Men, *Cheirisophus* said to him, " You come very seasonably, for this Place must be taken, otherwise the Army " will be starved".

Book
IV.

UPON this they called a Council of War, and *Xenophon* demanding, what could hinder them from carrying the Place; *Cheirisophus* answer'd, " there is no other Access to it but This, and, when any of our Men attempt to gain it, they roll down Stones from the impending Rock, and those they light upon are treated as you see;" pointing at the same time to some of the Men, whose Legs and Ribs were broken. " But, says *Xenophon*, when they have consum'd all the Stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? For I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few Men, and of these not above two or three that are arm'd. The Space, you see, through which we must pass expos'd to these Stones, is about one hundred and fifty Feet in Length, of which that of

BOOK one hundred Feet is cover'd ⁴² with large

IV. Pines, growing in Groups, against which, if our Men place themselves, what can they suffer, either from the Stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the Enemy? The remaining Part of this Space is not above fifty Feet, which, when the Stones cease, we must dispatch with all possible Expedition. But, says *Cheirisophus*, the Moment we offer to go to the Place that is cover'd with the Trees, they will shower down Stones upon us. That, replies *Xenophon*, is the very Thing we want, for by this Means they will be consum'd the sooner. However, continues he, let us, if we can, advance to that Place, from whence we may have but a little Way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with Ease."

UPON

⁴² Δυσὶ πίτυσι διαλείπεται μεγάλας. The Explication of διαλείπεται brought by *Hutchinson* out of *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*, ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσι, does not, in my Opinion, give the Author's Sense of it in this Place; nobody doubts but these Pines grew at some Distance from one another; but *Xenophon* means that they grew in Groups, and then διαλείπεται will have the same Sense with διαταχέσθαι in the second Book, where he speaks of the *Rhodians* being dispos'd in Platoons, for Groups in Planting and Painting are the same Thing with Platoons in Tactics. *D'Ablandcourt* has artfully avoided the Difficulty by saying generally *semex de grands Pins*.

UPON this, *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon*, Book
with *Callimachus* of *Parrhasie*, one of the IV.

Captains, advanced, (for the last had the Command that Day of the Captains in the Rear) all the rest of the Officers standing out of Danger. Then about seventy of the Men advanc'd under the Trees, not in a Body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as well as he could: While *Agasias* the *Stymphalian* and *Aristonymus* of *Methydia*, who were also Captains belonging to the Rear, with some others, stood behind, without the Trees, for it was not safe for more than one Company to be there, Upon this Occasion *Callimachus* made Use of the following Stratagem. He advanc'd two or three Paces from the Tree under which he stood; but, as soon as the Stones began to fly, he quickly retired, and, upon every Excursion, more than ten Cart-Loads of Stones were consumed. When *Agasias* saw what *Callimachus* was doing, and that the Eyes of the whole Army were upon him, fearing lest he should be the first Man who enter'd the Place, he, without giving any Notice to *Aristonymus*, who stood next to him, or to *Eurylochus* of *Lusia*, both of whom were his Friends, or to any other Person, advanc'd

BOOK alone, with a Design to get before the rest.

IV. When *Callimachus* saw him passing by, he laid hold of the ⁴³ Border of his Shield. In the mean Time *Aristonymus*, and, after him, *Eurylochus* ran by them both: For all these were Rivals in Glory, and in a constant Emulation of each other. And, by contending thus, they took the Place: For, the Moment

⁴³ Επιλαμβάνεται αὐτὸ τῆς ἵτις. I am surpriz'd to find ἵτις render'd both by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, *umbo*, when *Suidas* has explain'd it so particularly by περιφέρεια ὄπλῃ, and, to support that Explanation has quoted this very Passage of *Xenophon* now before us; and, for fear this Authority should not be thought sufficient to establish this Sense of the Word, the same Author quotes Part of an Inscription on the Shield of *Alexander* of *Phyllos*, where ἵτις is very particularly distinguish'd from ὀμφαλὸς which is properly *umbo*.

Γραλῆα μὲν ἵτιν πολέμων ὕπο, γηραλῆα δὲ
Ομφαλόν. —————

D'Ablandcourt has evaded this Difficulty also, by translating it generally, *le prit en passant par son bouclier*. ἵτις therefore is what *Homer* calls ἀντιξυμάτην, where the Ocean flow'd in the divine Shield which *Vulcan* made for *Achilles*,

Homer II. Εὐ δ' ἐτ' ἔπει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο

Σ. Ἀντιγα πᾶρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

Which Mr. *Pope* has translated with his usual Elegance and Exactness,

*In living Silver seem'd the Waves to roll,
And beat the Buckler's Verge, and bound the Whole.*

The *Latin* Translators therefore ought to have render'd it *ora*, as *Virgil* has in that Verse, where he speaks of the Javelin thrown by *Palas* at *Turnus*,

Virgil
Æneid.
10 B.

*Viam chypei molita per oras
Tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.*

Moment one of them had gain'd the A-Book
scnt, there were no more Stones thrown IV.
from above.

AND here followed a dreadful Spectacle indeed; for the Women first threw their Children down the Precipice, and then themselves. The Men did the same. And here *Aeneas* the *Stymphalian*, a Captain, seeing one of the *Barbarians*, who was richly dress'd, running with a Design to throw himself down, caught hold of him, and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the Precipice together, and were dashed to Pieces. Thus we made very few Prisoners, but took a considerable Quantity of Oxen, Asses, and Sheep.

FROM thence the *Greeks* advanced, through the Country of the ⁴⁴ *Chalybians*, and, in seven Marches, made fifty Parasangas. These being the most valiant People they met with in all their March, they came to a close Engagement with the *Greeks*. They had linen Corsets that reach'd below

⁴⁴ Διὰ χαλύβων. 'Tis difficult to say what Nation these were; I am sensible *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Diod. Sic.* them *Chalcideans*, but we are much in the dark as to ¹⁴ B. them. The Reader will however observe, that these *Chalybians* were a different People from those he will find mentioned by our Author in the next Book.

BOOK low ⁴⁵ their Navel, and, ⁴⁶ instead of Tassels, thick Cords twisted. They had also Greaves and Helmets, and at their Girdle ⁴⁷ a short Faulchion, like those of the *Lacedaemonians*, with which they cut the Throats of those they over-power'd, and afterwards, cutting off their Heads, carried them away in Triumph. It was their Custom to sing and dance, whenever they thought the Enemy saw them. They had Pikes fifteen Cubits in length, ⁴⁸ with only one Point.

They

⁴⁵ Μέχρι τῆς ἡτῆρας. Τὸ μέντοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν πάντων, ἄχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ αἰδοῖα τριχώσεων, ἡτῆρόν τε καὶ ὑπογάστριον. *Julius Pollux.*

2 B.

⁴⁶ Αὐτὶ τῶν πτερυγίων. These Tassels with which the Skirts of ancient Armour were adorn'd, are, by our Author, in his Treatise of Horsemanship, called πτέρυγες, which he says should be so large, and in so great Quantity, as to hide the lower Part of the Belly and Thighs of the Horseman, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἡτῆρόν καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κύκλω αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔσωσαν, ὥστε σέγειν τὰ μέλη.

⁴⁷ Ξιφάλην. Ξιφάλην Ξιφίδιον, ὃ τινες δρέπανον λέγουσι. *Hesychius.*

1 B. Seg.
136.

⁴⁸ Μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. This seems to have deserv'd some Attention from the Translators. What *Xenophon* calls λόγχη here, *Julius Pollux*, speaking of the different Parts of a Spear, calls αἰχμή. The sharp Iron at the other End, with which they fix'd their Pikes in the Ground, the same Author calls σαρωτήρ after *Homer*, who describes the Pikes of *Diomedes* and his Companions in that Posture,

— ἔγχεα

They staid in their Cities 'till the *Greeks* Book
march'd past them, and then followed ha- IV.
rassing them perpetually. After that they
retir'd to their strong Holds, into which
they had conveyed their Provisions: So that
the *Greeks* could supply themselves with no-
thing out of their Country, but liv'd
upon the Cattle they had taken from the
Taochians.

THEY now came to the River *Harpasus*,
which was four hundred Feet broad. And
from thence advanc'd through the Country
of the *Scythinians*, and, in four Days March,
made twenty Parasangas, passing through a
Plain into some Villages; in which they staid
three Days, and made their Provisions. From
this Place they made, in four Days March,
twenty Parasangas, to a large and rich City
well inhabited: It was called *Gymnias*. The
Governour of this Country sent a Person
to the *Greeks*, to conduct them through
the Territories of his Enemies. This Guide,
coming to the Army, said he would under-
take

— ἔγχεα δέ σφιν
Οἳ θ' ἐπὶ σιγρωτῆρι ἐλήλατο. —

Homer II.
K.

I imagine the Pikes of the *Chalybians* had not this
lower Iron.

BOOK take,⁴⁹ in five Days, to carry them to a Place,

IV: from whence they should see the Sea. If

not, he consented to be put to death. And, when he had conducted them into the Territories belonging to his Enemies, he desired them to lay waste the Country with Fire and Sword. By which it was evident that he came with this View, and not from any Good-will he bore to the *Greeks*. The fifth Day they arriv'd at the holy Mountain called *Theches*. As soon as the Men, who were in the Vanguard, ascended the Mountain, and saw the Sea, they gave a great Shout, which, when *Xenophon* and those in the Rear, heard, they concluded that some other Enemies attack'd them in Front, for the People

⁴⁹ Οθεν πέντε ἡμερῶν ὄψονται θάλατταν. I don't know whether the *Latin* Translators have render'd this Passage with Perspicuity enough; they have said *a quo, & unde dierum quinque spatio mare conspecturi essent*. Of which this seems to be the Sense, that the Guide said he would carry them to a Place, from whence they should see the Sea in five Days after they arriv'd there; but this is not the Sense of our Author, for it is obvious from what follows, that the five Days were to be counted from the Time he began to conduct them, not from the Time they arriv'd at the Place to which he was to conduct them: Accordingly we find that in five Days he led them to the Mountain, from which they saw the Sea. *D'Ablancourt* has said much better, *il promet de montrer la Mer aux Soldats dans cinq jours*.

People belonging to the Country they had burn'd, follow'd their Rear, some of whom those who had Charge of it, had killed, and taken others Prisoners in an Ambuscade. They had also taken twenty Bucklers made of raw Ox-hides with the Hair on.

THE Noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the Men, as fast as they came up, running to those who still continued Shouting, their Cries swelled with their Numbers, so that *Xenophon*, thinking something more than ordinary had happen'd, mounted on Horse-back, and, taking with him *Lycius* and his Horse, rode up to their Assistance: And presently they heard the Soldiers calling out SEA ! SEA ! and cheering one another. At this they all set a running, the Rear-guard as well as the rest, and the Beasts of Burden, and Horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the Top of the Mountain, they embraced one another, and also their Generals and Captains with Tears in their Eyes. And immediately the Men, by whose Order it is not known, bringing together a great many Stones, made a large Mount, upon which they plac'd a great Quantity of Shields made
of

BOOK of raw Ox-hides, Staves, and Bucklers taken
 IV. from the Enemy. The Guide himself cut the
 Bucklers in Pieces, and exhorted the rest to
 do the same. After this the *Greeks* sent
 back their Guide, giving him Presents out
 of the publick Stock, these were a Horse, a
 silver Cup, a *Persian* Dress, and ⁵⁰ ten Da-
 ricks. But, above all Things the Guide
 desir'd the Soldiers to give him some of
 their Rings, many of which they gave him.
 Having therefore shewn them a Village,
 where they were to Quarter, and the Road
 that led to the *Macronians*, when the Even-
 ing came on, he departed, setting out on
 his Return that Night. From thence the
Greeks, in three Days March, made ten
 Parasangas, through the Country of the
Macronians. During their first Day's March,
 they came to a River, which divides the
 Territories of the *Macronians* from those
 of the *Scythians*. The *Greeks* had on their
 Right an Eminence of very difficult Access,
 and on their Left another River, into which
 the River that serv'd for a Boundary be-
 tween the two Nations, and which the
Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. The
 Banks

⁵⁰ Δαρείκῃς δέκα. See the eleventh Annotation
 upon the first Book.

Banks of this River were cover'd with Trees, Book
 which were not large, but grew close to IV.
 one another. These the *Greeks* immediately cut down, being in Haste to get out of the Place. The *Macronians* were drawn up on the opposite Side to obstruct their Passage. They were arm'd with Bucklers and Spears, and wore Vests made of Hair. They animated one another, and threw Stones into the River ; but, as they did not reach our Men, they could do us no Damage.

UPON this one of the Targeteers coming to *Xenophon* said, he had formerly been a Slave at *Athens* ; that he understood the Language of these People ; “ and, says he, “ if I am not mistaken, this is my own Country, and, if there is no Objection, I will “ speak to the People.” *Xenophon* answer'd, “ there is none ; so speak to them, says he, “ and first enquire what People they are.” He did so, and they answer'd they were *Macronians*. “ Ask them therefore, says *Xenophon*, why they are drawn up against us, “ and seek to be our Enemies ?” To which they answer'd, “ because you invade our “ Country.” The Generals then order'd him to let them know it was not with a View of
 doing

BOOK doing them any Injury, "but that, having

IV. "made War against the King, we were re-

turning to *Greece*, and desirous to arrive at

"the Sea." The *Macronians* ask'd "whether

"they were willing to give Assurance of this."

The *Greeks* answer'd that they were willing

both to give and take it. Upon this the

Macronians gave the *Greeks* a *Barbarian*

Spear, and the *Greeks* gave them one of

theirs; for this, they said, was their Method

of pledging their Faith: And both Parties

called upon the Gods to be Witnesses to

their Treaty.

WHEN this Ceremony was over, the *Macronians* came in a friendly manner among the *Greeks*, and assisted them in cutting down the Trees, in order to prepare the Way for their Passage. They also supply'd them with a Market in the best Manner they were able, and conducted them through their Country during three Days, 'till they brought them to the Mountains of the *Colchians*. One of these was very large,

³¹ Τῶν Κόλχων. We have been a long Time following *Xenophon* through Countries, the greatest Part of whose Inhabitants are scarce known but by his History. We are now beginning to tread upon Classical Ground,

large, but not inaccessible. And; upon this, the *Colchians* stood in Order of Battle: The *Greeks*, at first, drew up their Army in a Line, with a Design to march up the Mountain in this Disposition; afterwards, the Generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what Manner they should engage the Enemy with most Advantage; when *Xenophon*

said

Ground, where almost every Mountain, every River, and every City is render'd famous by the Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but more so by their Writings. The *Colchians* are immortaliz'd by the *Argonautick Expedition*, but their Origin is not so generally known: *Dionysius Periegetes*, after *Herodotus*, makes them a Colony of the *Egyptians*,

Πὰρ δὲ μυχὸν Πόντοιο, μετὰ χθόνα Τυνδαριδάων
Κόλχοι ναϊετάσσι, μετ' ἄλυσες Αἰγύπτιοι,
Καυσαῖα ἔστυς εἶοντες. —

Herodotus says they were either settled there by *Sesostris*, *Herodotus* or, being unwilling to follow him any farther, remain'd in *Euterpe*. there. This he supports by several Arguments, as that they were Blacks, and had curl'd Hair, but chiefly because the *Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* were the only People in the World that originally used Circumcision; the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* in *Palestine* themselves acknowledging that they learn'd it from the *Egyptians*: *Herodotus* adds, that the *Egyptians*, and *Colchians* agreed also in their Way of living, and spoke the same Language: If, by the *Syrians* in *Palestine*, he means the *Jews*, as it is very probable, his Opinion opens so large a Field for Argument, that, to treat it cursorily, would not be doing Justice to a Subject of so much Consequence, and, to go the whole Length of it, would be not only invading the Province of Gentlemen much more capable of discussing it, than myself, but would also swell this Annotation much beyond its due Length.

BOOK said it was his Opinion they ought to change
 IV. the Disposition, and, dividing the heavy-
 arm'd Men into Companies of a hundred
 Men each, to throw every Company into
 a separate Column; "for, says he, the Moun-
 "tain being, in some Places, inaccessible,
 "and, in others, of easy Ascent, "the Line
 "will presently be broken, and this will,
 "at once, dishearten the Men; besides, if we
 "advance with many Men in File, the
 "Enemy's Line will out-reach ours, and they
 "may apply that Part of it, which out-reaches
 "us, to what Service they think proper;
 and

" Η μὲν γὰρ Φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθὺς.
 The Reasons given here by *Xenophon* for attacking this
 Mountain in Columns, rather than in a Line, being
 the same with those alledged by *Polybius*, in his Dis-
 sertation upon the *Macedonian Phalanx*, for the
 Advantages which the *Roman* Legions had over it, I
 thought the *English* Reader would not be displeas'd
 with a Translation of this Dissertation, wherein we find
 a much more particular Description of the *Macedonian*
Phalanx, and of all its Operations, than is to be met
 with in any other Author, particularly, since the
 17th Book of *Polybius*, in which this Dissertation is,
 not being entire, has not, that I know of, been trans-
 lated into our Language. From the Reasoning both
 of *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*, it may be gather'd that
Philip, the Son of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander*
 the Great, who we find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, insti-
 tuted the *Macedonian Phalanx*, did not improve the
 Greek Discipline by that Institution. As this Disserta-
 tion of *Polybius* is of too great a Length to come in
 among the Notes, I have given it a Place at the End
 of this Book.

“ and if with few, we ought not to wonder,
 “ if they break through our Line, where-
 “ ever their Numbers and Weapons unite
 “ to make an Impression; and, if this hap-
 “ pens in any Part, the whole Line must
 “ suffer. To avoid therefore these Inconve-
 “ niences, I think the several Companies, be-
 “ ing thus drawn up in separate Columns,
 “ ought to march at so great a Distance from
 “ one another, that the last on each Side may
 “ reach beyond the Enemy’s Wings; by this
 “ Means, not only our last Companies will
 “ out-reach their Line, but, as we make our
 “ Attack in Columns, the bravest of our
 “ Men will charge first; and let every Com-
 “ pany ascend the Mountain in that Part,
 “ where it is of easy Access; neither will it
 “ be an easy Matter for the Enemy to fall
 “ into the Intervals, when the Companies
 “ are plac’d on each Side, or to break
 “ through them, when they advance in Co-
 “ lumns: And, if any of the Companies suffer,
 “ the next will relieve them, and, if any one
 “ of them can, by any Means, gain the Sum-
 “ mit, the Enemy will no longer stand their
 “ Ground.” This was resolv’d on, so they
 divided the heavy-arm’d Men into Com-
 panies, and threw every Company into a

Book separate Column; then *Xenophon*, going
 IV. from the Right of the Army to the Left, spoke
 thus to the Soldiers; “ Gentlemen! the E-
 “ nemy, you see before you, are now the
 “ only remaining Obstacle, that hinders us
 “ from being already in the Place, whither
 “ we are, long since, hastening. These, if
 “ we can, we ought even to eat alive.”

WHEN every Man stood in his Place, and all the Companies were drawn up in Columns, they amounted to about eighty Companies of heavy-arm'd, each of which consisted of near a hundred Men; the Targeeters, and Archers, they divided into three Bodies of near six hundred Men each, one of which they plac'd beyond the left Wing, another beyond the Right, and the third in the Center. Then the Generals order'd the Soldiers to make their Vows to the Gods, and, after they had made them, and sung the Pæan, they march'd: *Cheirisophus*, and *Xenophon* advanc'd at the Head of those Targeeters, who were beyond the Enemy's Line; these, seeing them coming up, mov'd forward to receive them, and some filed off to the Right, and others to the Left, leaving a great Void in the Center: When the *Arca-*
dian

dian Targeteers, who were commanded by *Book*
Æschines, the *Acaranian*, saw them di- *IV.*
 vide, they ran forward in all Haste, thinking
 they fled, and these were the first who gain'd
 the Summit. They were followed by the
Arcadian heavy-arm'd Men, commanded by
Cleanor, the *Orchomenian*. The Enemy,
 when once they began to give Ground, never
 stood after, but fled some one Way, and some
 another. After the *Greeks* had gain'd the
 Ascent, they encamp'd in many Villages
 full of all sorts of Provisions. Here they
 found nothing else worthy of their Admira-
 tion, but, there being great Quantities of
 " Bee-hives in those Villages, all the Sol-
 diers, who eat of the Honey-Combs, lost
 their Senses, and were seiz'd with a Vomit-

X 3

ing

" Τὰ δὲ σμῆνη. The Accident, here mention'd
 by *Xenophon*, is accounted for by *Pliny*, and farther ex- *Plin. N.H.*
 plain'd by *Tournefort*: The first says there is a Kind *21 B. c. 13.*
 of Honey, found in this Country, called from its Effect,
Mænomenon; that is, that those who eat of it are
 seiz'd with *Madness*: He adds, that the common Opi-
 nion is that this Honey is gather'd from the Flowers
 of a Plant, called *Rhododendros*, which is very common
 in those Parts. *Tournefort*, when he was in that *Tourne-*
 Country, saw there two Plants, which he calls *Cha-* *fort, 17*
mærhododendros, the first with Leaves like the Medlar, *Letter.*
 and yellow Flowers; the other with Leaves like the
Laurocerasus, and purple Flowers; this, he says, is pro-
 bably the *Rhododendros* of *Pliny*, because the People of
 the Country look upon the Honey, that is gather'd
 from its Flowers, to produce the Effects describ'd by
Xenophon.

BOOK ing and Purging, none of them being able
 IV. to stand upon their Legs. Those, who eat
 but little, ⁵⁴ were like Men very drunk, and
 those, who eat much, like Mad-men, and
 some like dying Persons. In this Condition
 great Numbers lay upon the Ground, as if
 there had been a Defeat, and the Sorrow
 was general: The next Day, none of them
 died, but recover'd their Senses, about the
 same Hour they were seiz'd, and the third,
 and fourth Day, they got up as if they had
 taken Physick.

FROM thence they made, in two Days
 March, seven Parasangas, and arriv'd at the
 Sea, and ⁵⁵ at *Trebisond*, a Greek City, well
 inhabited,

⁵⁴ Σφόδρα μέθυσιν ἔκεισαν. *Ressembloient à des yvrognes*, says d' *Ablancourt*. Methinks he should have rather said *à des gens yvres*, for, I believe, it will be allowed that, in his Language, *un yvrogne* signifies, an habitual Drinker, and *un homme yvre*, a Man who is actually drunk.

⁵⁵ Εἰς Τραπεζούντα. As this was a Greek City, the Greeks found themselves here in Safety, after their long and glorious March. The Port, which is on the East of the Town, was built by the Emperor *Adrian*, as we find by *Arrian*, who, in his *Periplus* of the *Euxine* Sea, which he dedicates to that Emperor, says, that he was making a Port there, for, before, there was no more than a Station, where Ships could only ride at Anchor, with Safety, in the Summer-time. *ἐνταῦθα σὺ ποιεῖς λιμένα· πάλαι γὰρ ὅσον ἀποσαλεύειν ὥρα ἔτις, ὅρμηξ ἦν.* *Tournefort* says this Port is now call'd *Platana*, and is much neglected by the *Turks*.

Arrian
Periplus.

Tourne-
fort. 17
Letter.

inhabited, and situated upon the *Euxine* Sea; it is a Colony of the *Sinopians*, but lies in the Country of the *Colchians*. Here they staid about thirty Days, encamping in the Villages of the *Colchians*, and, from thence, made Excursions into their Country, and plunder'd it: The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* supplied them with a Market in their Camp, and receiv'd the *Greeks* with great Hospitality, making them Presents of Oxen, Barley-Meal, and Wine: They also concluded a Treaty with them in Favour of the neighbouring *Colchians*, the greatest Part of whom inhabit the Plain, and from these also the *Greeks* receiv'd more Oxen, as a Mark of their Hospitality. After this, they prepar'd the Sacrifice they had vowed. They had receiv'd Oxen enow to offer to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and to *Hercules*, in Return for their having conducted them with Safety, and also to the other Gods what they had vowed. They also celebrated a *Gymnick* Game upon the Mountain, where they encamp'd, and chose *Dracontius* of *Sparta* (who, having involuntarily killed a Boy with his Faulchion, fled from his Country, when he was a Child) to take Care of the Course, and preside at the Game.

BOOK WHEN the Sacrifice was over, they delivered the Hides of the Victims to *Dracontius*, and desir'd he would lead them to the Place, where he had prepar'd the Course. This Hill, says he, pointing to the Place where they stood, is the properest Place for running, let them take which Way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven, and so bushy a Place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater Anguish. ⁵⁶ The Course was run by Boys, the greatest Part of whom were Prisoners, and the long Course by above sixty *Cretans*. Others contended in Wrestling,

⁵⁶ Σταδίου, Δόλιχον, Πάλην, Πύγμην, Παγκράτιον. The five Games, so much celebrated in Greece, are contain'd in the following Pentameter Verse,

Άλμα, ποδακίνη, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

Leaping, running, throwing of the Disk, and of Darts, and Wrestling. The first is not here taken notice of; under the second is comprehended στάδιον and δόλιχον, the former being a Course of six hundred Feet, τὸ στάδιον ἔχει πόδας χ'. *Suidas*. And the latter containing twenty-four Stadia, ἔστι δὲ ὁ δόλιχος καὶ στάδια. *Id.* It is possible that πάλη may, in that Verse, be taken for ἀνακλινοπάλη, that is, that both Boxing and Wrestling might be comprehended under the Word πάλη, which, in that Case, will be the same with παγκράτιον, since this consisted both of Boxing, and Wrestling, παγκρατιασταῖς ἀθληταῖς πύκταις, οἱ ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πυκτομαχῶσι. *Suidas*. However we find them distinguish'd by *Xenophon*, upon this Occasion.

ling, Boxing, and the Pancratiū. All which made a fine Sight: ⁵⁷ For many enter'd the Lifts, and, as their Friends were Spectators, there was great Emulation. Horses also ran; they were oblig'd to run down to the Sea, and, turning there, to come up again to the ⁵⁸ Altar. In the Descent, many roll'd down the Hill, but, when they came to climb it, the ⁵⁹ Ascent was so very steep the Horses could scarce come in a Foot-pace. Upon this the Spectators shouted, and laugh'd, and animated their Friends.

⁵⁷ Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν. In this Sense *Horace* uses the Word *descendo*,

— *hic generosior*
Descendat in Campum Petitor.

Horat. 1
Od. 3 B.

⁵⁸ Πρὸς τὸν Βωμόν. It is very probable, as *Hutchinson* has observ'd, that this Altar might be one of those taken Notice of by *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, which, he says, were standing in his Time, and built of rough Stone.

⁵⁹ Ἀνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μάλις βιάσθην ἐπέρουντο οἱ ἵπποι. Not only the Sense of the Words, but their Order admirably represents the Labour of the Horses, in climbing the steep Ascent: *Homer* has led the Way in this, as in all other Beauties both of *Homer* Thought, and Style. With what Difficulty does *Sisyphus* croud up the Stone to the Top of the Hill? *Odysf. λ.*

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε πατὶ λόφον —

And then, with what Celerity does it come bounding down?

— ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

The End of the Fourth Book.



THE
DISSERTATION
OF
POLYBIUS
UPON THE
MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

17 B.

HAVING promis'd, in the sixth Book, to compare, upon a proper Occasion, the Arms of the *Romans*, and *Macedonians*, and the different Dispositions of their respective Armies, as also to consider the Advantages, and Disadvantages of both; I shall take the Opportunity of their being engag'd together, to endeavour to perform my Promise. For since the *Macedonian* Disposition, recommending

mending itself by Success, formerly prevail'd over That of the *Asiatics*, and *Greeks*; and, on the other Side, the *Roman* Disposition has been victorious over That of the *Africans*, and of all the Inhabitants of the western Part of *Europe*; and since, in our Time, there has been not only one but many Trials of the Dispositions and Soldiers of both Nations; it will be a useful and a creditable Undertaking to enquire into the Difference of their Discipline, and consider the Cause of the Victories of the *Romans*, and of their excelling all other Nations in military Achievements, to the End we may not, by attributing their Success to Fortune, like weak Men, compliment the Victorious without Foundation; but, by being acquainted with the true Reasons of it, celebrate and admire the Conquerors with Justice.

As to what relates to the Battles, in which the *Romans* were engag'd with *Hannibal*, and the Defeats they receiv'd from him, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them, since they were not owing either to their Arms, or their Disposition, but to a Superiority of Genius, and Conduct in *Hannibal*. This we have made appear in the Relation of those

those Battles: And this is farther confirm'd by the Event of the War, (for, as soon as the *Romans* were commanded by a General equal to *Hannibal*, they presently became victorious) and also by the Conduct of *Hannibal* himself, who, disliking the Arms his Men had, 'till then, made Use of, upon the first Victory he gain'd over the *Romans*, immediately arm'd his Forces with the Arms of the latter, and continued to use them ever after. It is also certain that *Pyrrhus* not only made use of *Italian* Arms, but also of *Italian* Forces, in his Engagements with the *Romans*, placing a Body of *Italians*, and of his own Men, drawn up in a *Phalanx*, alternately: However, not even, by this means, was he able to beat the *Romans*, but the Event of all their Battles prov'd doubtful. It was necessary to premise these Things, to the End that nothing may seem to contradict our Assertions. I now return to the propos'd Comparison. Many Arguments may convince us that nothing can resist the *Phalanx* in Front, or withstand its Onset, when possess'd of all the Advantages, that are peculiar to it: For each Man, with his Arms, when drawn up in Order of Battle, takes up three Feet in
Depth;

Depth ; and their Pikes, though originally sixteen Cubits in Length, are however in Reality fourteen ; of these, four are taken up by the Distance between his Hands, and so much of the hinder Part of the Pike, as is necessary to balance the fore Part, when presented to the Enemy : This being so, it is plain that the Pike, when grasp'd with both Hands, and presented, must project ten Cubits before each Man. Hence it happens, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank will project two Cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth, will project more than two, before the File-leaders, when the Intervals, between the Ranks, and Files of the *Phalanx*, are properly observ'd, as *Homer* has shewn in these Verses :

*An Iron Scene gleams dreadful o'er the
Fields,
Armour in Armour lock'd, and Shields
in Shields,
Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Tar-
gets throng,
Helms stuck to Helms, and Man drove
Man along.* *Mr. Pope.*

This being truly, and beautifully express'd, it follows, that five Pikes, differing two Cubits

Cubits from one another in Length, must project before each of the File-leaders: So that it is an easy matter to represent to one's self the Appearance, and Strength of the whole *Phalanx*, when being, as usual, drawn up sixteen deep, and presenting its Pikes, it makes an Attack. Of these sixteen Ranks, those, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their Pikes, to annoy the Enemy; for which Reason they do not present them, but each Rank inclines them over the Shoulders of That before it, in Order to secure them from above, the Pikes, by their Closeness, defending them from the missile Weapons, which might otherwise, by flying over the foremost Ranks, fall upon those, who stand behind them. Besides, each of these Ranks, pressing in File, with the whole Weight of their Body, the Rank which immediately precedes, they not only strengthen the Attack, but make it impossible for the foremost Ranks to retreat. This being the Disposition of the *Phalanx* in the Whole, and in Part, we are now to give an Account of the Properties, and Difference of the *Roman* Arms, and Disposition, by comparing them together. The *Romans* likewise, with their Arms, take up three Feet in Depth:

But,

But, as they cover their Bodies with their Shields, changing their Guard at every Stroke, and make Use of their Swords both to cut, and thrust, it happens that their Line of Battle is in a perpetual Fluctuation; this makes it necessary for each Man to have Room, and an Interval of, at least, three Feet, both in Rank and in File, if it is expected he should do his Duty; from whence it follows, that one *Roman* will stand opposite to two File-leaders of the *Phalanx*, and consequently be expos'd to, and engag'd with ten Spears, which it is not possible for one Man, when once the Armies close, to cut to Pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or easy to break through, since the hindmost Ranks can contribute nothing either to the Force of the File-leaders, or to the Efficacy of their Swords. From what has been said it may be easily concluded that, as I before observ'd, nothing can withstand the Onset of the *Phalanx* in Front, while it preserves all the Advantages that are peculiar to it. What therefore is the Cause that gives the Victory to the *Romans*, and defeats those, who make use of the *Phalanx*? It is this: military Operations are uncertain both in Time, and Place; whereas the *Phalanx* has
but

but one Time, one Place, and one Disposition, in which it can perform the Service, that is expected from it. If therefore there was a Necessity for the Enemy to engage the *Phalanx* at its own Time, and Place, in every decisive Action, it is reasonable to conclude, from what has been said, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is possible, and easy to be avoided, why should that Disposition be, any longer, look'd upon as formidable? And, indeed, it is allowed that the *Phalanx* stands in Need of an even, and open Ground, where there is no Impediment, such as Ditches, Chasms, Valleys, Eminences, and Rivers: For all these are capable of confounding, and breaking its Ranks. It must also be allowed that it is almost impossible, at least, very rare, to find Places of twenty or more Stadia, in which there is nothing of this Nature: However, admit there are such Places; if the Enemy does not think fit to engage the *Phalanx* there, but, instead of that, marches round, and lays waste the Towns, and Country of their Friends, what will be the Service of such a Disposition? Since, while the *Phalanx* remains in the Places, that are proper for it, so far is it from being able to relieve its Friends,

that it is incapable even of preserving it self; for the Enemy will easily cut off their Provisions, the Moment they have, without Opposition, made themselves absolute Masters of the Country: And, if the *Phalanx* quits the Places that are proper for it, to engage in any Enterprize, it will become an easy Conquest. But, if the Enemy, resolving to engage the *Phalanx* in an even Place, should, instead of exposing his whole Army at once to the Onset of the *Phalanx*, retreat a little the Instant it charges, the Event may be easily foreseen from what the *Romans* now practise. For I desire no Judgment may be form'd of my Assertions from what I say, but from what has already happen'd: Since the *Romans* do not engage the *Phalanx* with all their Legions drawn up in a Line parallel to the former; but some Divisions of them lie behind in Reserve, while others are engag'd; so that, whether the *Phalanx* forces those who are opposite to it to give Way, or is it self forc'd by them to give Way, the Property of it is destroyed: For, in Order to pursue those who fly, or to fly from those who pursue, some Parts of the Line must leave the rest; which no sooner happens,

than an Opening is given for the Reserve to take the Ground they left; and, instead of attacking those who remain in Front, to break in upon their Flanks, or their Rear. Since, therefore, it is an easy Matter to avoid the Opportunities, and Advantages of the *Phalanx*, but impossible for the latter to avoid Those the *Romans* have over it, how is it possible there should not, in reality, be a great Difference between them? Besides, it is some times necessary for the *Phalanx* to march through, and encamp in all Sorts of Places; at others, to prevent the Enemy, by seizing some advantageous Post; some times, to besiege, at others, to be besieg'd, and to meet with unexpected Occurrences; for all these Things are incident to War, and either decide the Victory, or greatly contribute to it: And, in all these, the Disposition of the *Macedonians* is of little, or no Use; it being impossible for the Men, either in Companies, or singly, to perform any Service: Whereas That of the *Romans* is properly adapted to all; for every *Roman*, when once arm'd for Action, is equally fit for all Places, for all Times, and all Occurrences: He is also ready, and equally dispos'd either for a general, or a particular Action, to charge with his Company, or
engag

engage in a single Combat. As, therefore, the Disposition of the *Romans* is vastly superior to That of the *Macedonians* in the Use of all its Parts, so the Enterprizes of the former are vastly more successful than Those of the latter.



The End of the First Volume.

323

With the Macedonian Republic.

engine in a large capacity. As a result
the production of the engine is really in-
creased. The production of the engine is the
of all kinds of the engine. The engine is
4 DE 65

